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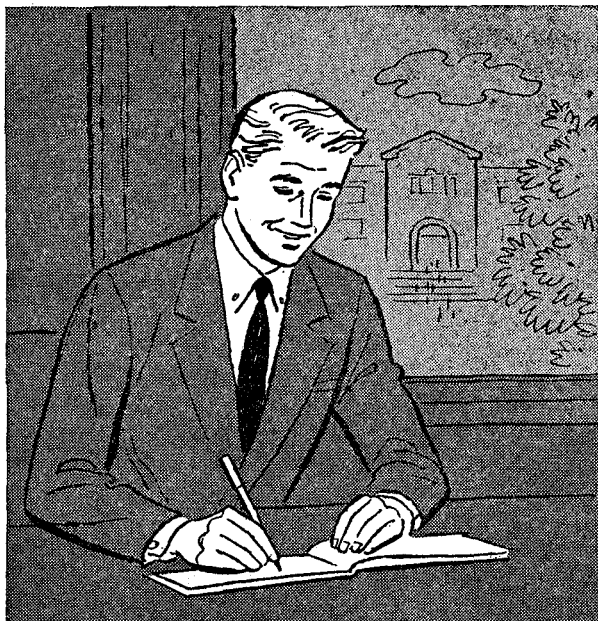
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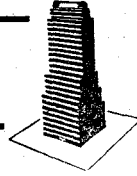
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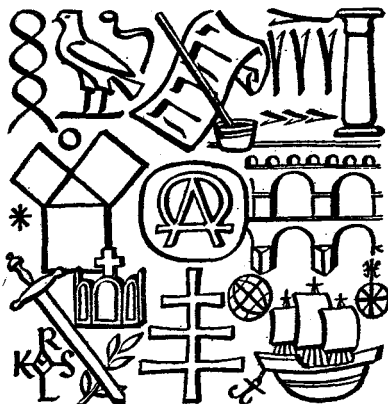
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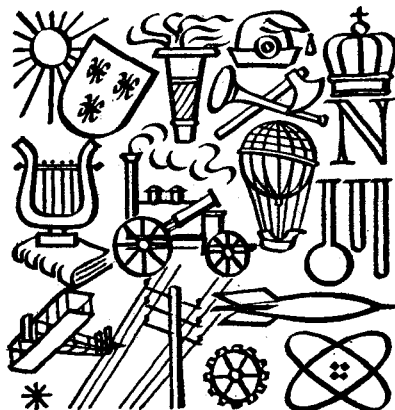
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Arnauld de Pomponne: Louis XIV's Moderate Minister

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE ministers of Louis XIV were not only the eyes, ears, and hands of the great king but also, we might say, a part of his brain. They did more than transmit information and execute policy as heads of the administrative system of the French monarchy; they shared in shaping the royal judgment and will, though it was ultimately the king's alone to decide and act. Thus the character and personality of these great servants of the crown became a significant autonomous element in the web of historical causality. Yet we must know far more about them than we do to comprehend fully and exactly the role they played in French—and indeed in European—history in the eventful half-century after 1661. Though they were something less than Richelieu and Mazarin, because the king they served ruled as well as reigned, many of these men have been almost lost to historical memory, and important events in which they played an essential part are explained as if they had never existed.

This is particularly true for Simon Arnauld, marquis de Pomponne, who twice, during two long wars, helped guide French diplomacy as Louis' for-

eign minister (1672-1679, 1691-1699). Though there is as yet "no serious study" of any of the foreign ministers of this long reign,¹ Pomponne remains perhaps the least known and understood of them all.² Some historians of the period do not mention him at all,³ others misstate elementary facts about his life.⁴ As a result, several important problems in Pomponne's career have barely been glimpsed by historians until now, and no adequate solution of them suggested.

First of these problems is Pomponne's character as a statesman. Fellow diplomats and contemporary publicists agreed that he was fundamentally a moderate man, yet he served the king of France during the Dutch War (1672-1678) and the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697), when much of Europe thought French policy most immoderately aggressive. Though esteemed for his personal and political probity,⁵ he was in fact more than once the honest man of Sir Henry Wotton's quip, sent abroad to lie for the good of his country. Another problem, to which more attention has been paid, is the position of Pomponne, a member of the most famous Jansenist family in France, in the king's highest councils. Why should Louis XIV, the cruel oppressor of French Jansenism, have trusted Pomponne? Or, for that matter, how could any honest Arnauld serve the king?⁶ Pomponne's extraordinary skill as a diplomat, which has won for him from a modern British historian the description of "greatest of French envoys,"⁷ clearly does not provide sufficient explanation of the relationship of the king and his minister. By studying Pomponne in the light of these two problems, we may test the accuracy of our image of Louis XIV and his reign. Particularly we

¹ Jacques Droz, *Histoire diplomatique de 1648 à 1919* (Paris, 1952), p. 577. Georges Livet ("Louis XIV et les provinces conquises: état des questions et remarques de méthode," *XVII^e siècle*, II [1952], 484) makes the same general point.

² Livet (*loc. cit.*) correctly remarks that the edition of Pomponne's *Mémoires* by J. Mavidal (2 vols.; Paris, 1861) "contributes little" and that the materials on Pomponne published by Louis Delavaud (especially *Le marquis de Pomponne, ministre et secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères* [Paris, 1911] "give only a brief glimpse of the man and his work." The article by Henri Courteault in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française* is merely a summary of published materials based on no original analysis. Pierre Varin writes in some detail on Pomponne in his *La vérité sur les Arnauld* (2 vols.; Paris, 1847, II, 41-179), but his book is marred by a fixed anti-Jansenist bias. The portrait of Pomponne by Saint-Simon (*Mémoires*, ed. A. de Boislisle [41 vols.; Paris, 1881-1928], VI, 337-50) is a masterpiece of characterization, but though the great memorialist writes here in a favorable mood rare for him, his judgment must still be weighed in the light of the total evidence.

³ E.g., Droz, p. 22.

⁴ E.g., Jacques Boulenger, *Le Grand Siècle* (Paris, 1925), p. 221, where Pomponne's life is brought to an end four years before his death.

⁵ For instance, Gilbert Burnet's contemporary description of Pomponne as a man of "great probity," in his *History of My Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy (2 vols.; Oxford, 1897), I, 548.

⁶ Charles Beard (*Port-Royal: A Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France* [2 vols.; London, 1861], I, 20) states this contradiction as a fact, without trying to analyze or explain it. Saint-Simon (VI, 340) merely calls it a "miracle," which amounts to the same thing.

⁷ Keith Feiling, *British Foreign Policy: 1660-1672* (London, 1930), p. 193.

come to realize that there was a prudent side to his diplomacy, the side represented by Pomponne. This study may therefore serve as one small part of a broader re-examination of the character of Louis' reign, about which little really new or more penetrating has been written since Ernest Lavisse published his three classic volumes on the Sun King.

Pomponne entered on his career in the royal service under the sponsorship of Michel le Tellier, the minister of war.⁸ From 1642 until 1647 he was an intendant at Casale, learning the tasks of government administration in the field and performing a number of diplomatic missions to Italian courts. In 1644 he was named a *conseiller d'Etat* for the first time. Returning to Paris in 1647, Pomponne was confronted a year later by the great crisis of the Fronde. Le Tellier sent him to various royal armies as their intendant, in charge of all aspects of their activity but the purely military. The temporary disgrace of Le Tellier in 1651 led to the collapse of the last of these missions, in Catalonia. Afterwards the king and Cardinal Mazarin, his chief minister, could recall that Pomponne had stayed on their side throughout the years when a Turenne and a Condé served the enemy.

The triumph of the royal party turned to Pomponne's disadvantage, however. The queen mother, Anne of Austria, whose power had been effectively restored, was a bitter foe of the Jansenists, to her a "new sect" of near heretics. Considering Pomponne only as an Arnauld and hence a Jansenist, she consistently rebuffed Mazarin's proposals to appoint him to various high posts. "You know why as well as I," the cardinal-minister wrote to Pomponne, reassuring him of his own esteem and affection.⁹ The lesson was not lost on Pomponne. He continued to remain loyal to his family and friends, but only as persons, not as theological standard-bearers. Recondite points of theology did not interest him.

When, in May, 1660, Pomponne married Catherine Ladvoat, he seemed to be on the threshold of better times. Her cousin was Nicolas Fouquet, the powerful superintendent of finances, whose support might outweigh Anne's opposition to Pomponne. He seemed destined for some new and higher post.¹⁰ The next year his councillorship of state was renewed. His good favor at court was clear. Then, late in August, came Fouquet's arrest on charges of

⁸ Though Pomponne proved to be one of the most important of Le Tellier's protégés, Louis André, in his valuable study of Le Tellier as minister of war (*Michel le Tellier et l'organisation de l'armée monarchique* [Montpellier, 1906]) does not discuss their relationship.

⁹ Mazarin to Pomponne, July 16, 1659, *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges . . .*, ed. L. J. N. de Monmerqué (Paris, 1820), pp. 372-73; Abraham de Wicquefort, *Histoire des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas . . .*, ed. E. Lenting and C. A. Chais van Buren (4 vols.; Amsterdam, 1861-74), III, 33.

¹⁰ Abbé Antoine Arnauld, *Mémoires*, in C. B. Petitot, *Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, depuis l'avènement de Henri IV jusqu'à la paix de Paris conclue en 1763* (78 vols.; Paris, 1820-29), XXXIV, 339.

fraud and conspiracy. "It was a thunderstroke which shattered all his hopes," recalled Pomponne's brother.¹¹ Though Fouquet had maintained contact with the leaders of Port-Royal through him, Pomponne was not arrested; he was merely relegated by *lettre de cachet* (February 2, 1662) to Verdun, where his cousin, Marshal Feuquières, was governor.¹² At Verdun he took up residence at the abbey of Saint-Nicolas. When friends visited him there later in the year they found him "much older and sadder." He "did not see when it would end and was bored to madness."¹³ Many friends stood by him in this time of difficulty,¹⁴ but those whose support now mattered most were Le Tellier, his first sponsor, and Claude le Peletier, *président à mortier* of the *parlement* of Paris. Le Peletier took the initiative in seeking relaxation of Pomponne's exile, while Le Tellier, closer to the king and better able to judge the royal intentions at a given moment, was more prudent. "We must await the end of the Fouquet business," was Le Tellier's judgment to Le Peletier.¹⁵ It took their combined efforts, powerfully reinforced by the support of Turenne, to win permission early in 1663 for Pomponne to come closer to Paris.¹⁶

After Fouquet was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in December, 1664, Louis XIV began to relax his wariness regarding the friends of the fallen minister. Less than two months later, on February 2, 1665, the king permitted Pomponne to return to Paris.¹⁷ Pomponne first visited Hugues de Lionne, the foreign minister and his personal friend. Then, a week later, he saw the king and all the ministers. Though the king had just admitted, almost grudgingly, that Pomponne was loyal, intelligent, and worthy of confidence, the royal look, Pomponne remarked, was "neither good nor bad, which is sufficient for one back from exile." In fact, the queen mother was friendlier than the king. Bertillac, her treasurer general and a friend of Pomponne's father, presented Pomponne to her with an assurance that he was not a Jansenist. "You may well believe," Pomponne wrote his father,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

¹² Petitot, "Notice sur Port-Royal," in Petitot, *Collection de mémoires*, XXXIII, 160; Arnauld, p. 318; Thomas Pierre du Fossé, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port-Royal* (Utrecht, 1739), p. 174.

¹³ Abbé Mathieu Feydeau, *Mémoires*, cited in C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, ed. R. L. Doyon and C. Marchesné (9 vols.; Paris, 1926-32), V, 19 n.

¹⁴ François Ravaissin-Mollien, ed., *Archives de la Bastille* (19 vols.; Paris, 1866-1904), II, *passim*; P. Tamizey de Larroque, ed., *Lettres de Jean Chapelain, de l'Académie Française* (2 vols.; Paris, 1880-88), II, 202-203; Beard, II, 56.

¹⁵ Le Peletier to Pomponne, Mar. 31, June 10, 1662, Ravaissin, II, 27, 44.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 113-14, 123 n. 1; Camille-Georges Picavet, *Les dernières années de Turenne* (1660-1675) (Paris, 1914), p. 52.

¹⁷ Louis XIV to Pomponne, Feb. 2, 1665, Ravaissin, II, 398; Arnauld, p. 318; *Coulanges*, p. 384 n. 3.

"that I have had enough of politics, and that, little desiring to start a quarrel, I did not disavow him."¹⁸

From the point of view of the sterner Jansenists, such as the two Angéliques of Port-Royal, his aunt and his sister, the period of temptation was now upon "ce pauvre garçon." To stay in the world of affairs, he might disavow *their* principles, at least by indirection or refraining from action.¹⁹ For Andilly, on the contrary, his son's return from exile was "this consolation God gives me amidst so many tribulations."²⁰

Louis XIV's initial chilliness toward Pomponne melted away during the spring and summer. In November, at Lionne's suggestion and with Le Tellier's support, the king named Pomponne ambassador to Sweden.²¹ But, much as Pomponne wanted the post, because it would bring him into a position of influence and activity, he would not take it at the cost of financial ruin to himself and his children. Unlike other diplomats in Louis' service, he would not pay out of his own pocket for the king's glory and prestige. Indeed, he told Lionne he would leap into the abyss of the king's displeasure rather than despoil his children. Lionne obtained higher pay for Pomponne and permission to spend no more than he received, for the king "wished that I serve him not with my wealth, but only with my head." Pomponne accepted. A new audience with Louis XIV went more pleasantly.²²

The appointment was a harbinger of settlement of the controversy between the court and the Jansenists. For Jean Chapelain, the scholar, it was "a bolt of lightning that does not proclaim the thunder but rather the return of calm."²³ While Pomponne was away in Sweden, his wife, remaining in France, was not afraid to busy herself on behalf of her cousin, Lemaître de Sacy, held in the Bastille for writing Jansenist tracts.²⁴ Pomponne made his own plea to his friend Lionne to help Sacy—not Sacy the Jansenist but Sacy the relative, the man of "merit, wisdom and virtue." He likened Sacy to himself as the victim of "the quarrels of Jansenism," but noted that he personally had "never involved and will never involve myself" in these quarrels.²⁵ A year later, thanking Le Peletier for his endeavors on Sacy's behalf, Pomponne made his own position, as mirrored in Sacy's, more explicit:

I know that though I never personally took any part in this kind of business, I have suffered for a long time from its repercussions; and I have reason still to fear

¹⁸ Feb. 11, 1665, *ibid.*, pp. 385-88.

¹⁹ Sainte-Beuve, VI, 137 n. 2, VIII, 41.

²⁰ Andilly to Madeleine de Souvré, marquise de Sablé, Feb. 1665, Ravaisson, II, 399.

²¹ Arnauld, pp. 318-19.

²² Pomponne to Arnauld, Dec. 18, 1665, *Coulanges*, pp. 392-94; Arnauld, pp. 319-20.

²³ Chapelain to Bishop Henri Arnauld, Jan. 7, 1666, *Chapelain*, II, 430-31.

²⁴ Beard, I, 429-30.

²⁵ Pomponne to Lionne, July 3, 1666, Ravaisson, VII, 264-65; Beard, I, 429-30.

that the same hostile forces which have always done me harm are tireless in continuing to persecute me. My only defense is to act as I have done till now, and will continue to do; but as strong as this weapon may be, I doubt that it can protect me from the hatred which one of the most powerful groups in Europe [the Jesuits] feels for the name I bear. . . . As for M. de Sacy, . . . I never saw him take part in controversy and believed this preserved him from the storm.²⁶

In Sweden, Pomponne's expectation that diplomatic activity would exorcise his private demon of idleness proved vain. With Sweden isolated from the Continent by the freezing over of the Belt and the Sound, his negotiations were slow and intermittent. The Baltic land was by now "a country which only letters from family and friends make bearable," he wrote his father. "You can imagine what boredom I suffer." In the empty February days of 1667, he began to write an account of his embassy. He thought little of this relation, but found it worth while because "it kept me busy during many hours in which I would have found nothing to do."²⁷

Escape from boredom was not the only benefit he sought in an official career. He also wished to aid the advancement of his family. But thus far, he complained, his children had not benefited by his own success. "Perhaps the star will change and bestow its kind gifts upon our children," he wrote.²⁸ The "star"—or rather the "Sun," to use Louis' own symbol—did begin to shine more brightly on the Arnaulds, and on the Jansenists generally. After the election of Cardinal Rospigliosi as Pope Clement IX in June, 1667, Lionne and the papal nuncio, Bargellini, worked out a formula for settlement of the controversy between the Catholic authorities and the Jansenists.²⁹ The "Peace of the Church," as it was known, was vigorously supported by the ministers of Louis XIV, especially Lionne and Le Tellier, Pomponne's sponsors within the government.³⁰ Louis was pleased with the "Peace," sternly rebuffing Father Annat, his Jesuit confessor, for charging that it would lead to the ruin of religion and the state.³¹

Pomponne meanwhile won a reputation as a skillful diplomat at Stockholm.³² In France, the king was impressed by the literary elegance of Pom-

²⁶ Pomponne to Le Peletier, July 24, 1667, *ibid.*, VII, 267.

²⁷ Pomponne to Andilly, Feb. 12, 1667, *Coulanges*, pp. 416-17. This relation was published by Mavidal as the first volume of his edition of Pomponne's *Mémoires*.

²⁸ Pomponne to Marquis Isaac de Feuquières, Sept. 4, 1667, *Lettres inédites des Feuquières* (5 vols.; Paris, 1845-46), II, 30.

²⁹ Nigel Abercrombie, *The Origins of Jansenism* (Oxford, 1936), p. 272.

³⁰ Charles Gérin, *Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège* (2 vols.; Paris, 1894), II, 11, 303; Augustin Gazier, *Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (2 vols.; Paris, 1923-24), I, 182.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 184.

³² Pieter de Groot, ambassador of the United Provinces at Stockholm, to John de Witt, July 14, 1668, *Brieven geschreven ende gewisselt tusschen den Heer Johan de Witt . . . ende de Gevolmaghtigden van den Staet der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (6 vols.; The Hague, 1723-24), IV, 576.

ponne's dispatches as well as by his abilities as an observer and judge of men and circumstances.³³ It was a propitious moment for taking the king's notice. Godefroï count d'Estrades, the French ambassador at The Hague, had failed to prevent the conclusion of the Triple Alliance.³⁴ In July, the king recalled Pomponne from Sweden. Two months later Pomponne arrived at Saint-Germain, where the king and the ministers received with great satisfaction his report on his "thorny embassy." This time there was no question of royal reticence. The king received Pomponne "most graciously," especially charming him "when he put off the majesty and the proud, haughty air he wore in public." He also impressed Pomponne with his command of the details of his various diplomatic undertakings.³⁵ The king showed his favor to Pomponne as an Arnauld by having him bring his uncle Antoine to Saint-Germain. This was another striking public display of his pleasure with the "Peace of the Church," for *le grand* Arnauld had been in hiding for almost twenty-five years.³⁶ Then, a week later, came another intimate favor to Pomponne with the release of Sacy. Pomponne and his brother went in person to bring Sacy from his cell in the Bastille.³⁷

In October, Pomponne was appointed ambassador to the States-General, and he reached The Hague in February, 1669. His conduct of this embassy may be analyzed in some detail to reveal his methods and principles in diplomacy. Pomponne did not denigrate the people and leaders of the state to which he was accredited but sought to evaluate them objectively. His courtesy never faltered. He would soften a reproach or a warning with a laugh.³⁸ As far as he could, he avoided the formalism and etiquette which he usually considered a waste of time, unless the dignity of his royal master was at stake.³⁹ At his very first interview with John de Witt, he was pleased to find the Grand Pensionary "free, easy and open in mind," that is, like himself. He prefaced his remarks to De Witt with an assurance that he would speak "baldly" and "without entering those byways of cleverness and finesse which constitute almost all the mystery of negotiations."⁴⁰ To be sure, De

³³ Chapelain to Heinsius, Feb. 8, 1668, *Chapelain*, II, 551.

³⁴ Herbert H. Rowen, "John de Witt and the Triple Alliance," *Journal of Modern History*, XXVI (1954), 8.

³⁵ Arnauld, p. 330.

³⁶ Du Fossé, *Mémoires . . . de Port-Royal*, p. 315; Gazier, I, 184.

³⁷ Arnauld, p. 332; Du Fossé, pp. 317-18.

³⁸ Pomponne to Louis XIV, Jan. 30, 1670, *Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, Correspondance de Hollande* (hereafter abbreviated *Arch. étr., Holl.*), t. 90, fol. 40vo.

³⁹ Pomponne to Lionne, Apr. 25, 1669, *ibid.*, t. 89, fol. 152.

⁴⁰ F. A. Mignet, *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne . . .* (4 vols.; Paris, 1835-42), III, 572. Pomponne's handling of his personal relationships with the Dutch leaders was recalled some three decades later by his personal secretary, Rousseau de Chamoy, when he composed a "picture of the perfect ambassador," with stress on the importance and desirability of the envoy's probity. Chamoy, "L'idée du parfait ambassadeur," ed. L. Delavaud, *Revue générale du droit international public*, XIX (1912), 189-209.

Witt did not believe everything Pomponne said. Just after Pomponne reached The Hague, De Witt was reported to have declared that Louis XIV had sent to the Dutch republic "an ambassador of consummate prudence and rare dissimulation, but that it was quite his own purpose to act correspondingly, without permitting himself to be taken by surprise."⁴¹ Pomponne nonetheless was able to draw De Witt out without committing himself to any specific point, "with the purpose of making him always state his own ideas without bringing in any of my own."⁴²

Like De Witt, Pomponne usually said what he meant, though he would lie if he had to. It was this preference for truthfulness over duplicity, not a literal adherence to the facts on all occasions, which fellow statesmen recognized in their praises for his "probity." It was also his ability to recognize the other side of questions which they prized. The way his mind worked was vividly disclosed early in his stay at The Hague when he discussed with the Grand Pensionary the sources of the tension between the United Provinces and France. De Witt had defended the fixed principle of Dutch policy that France was desirable as a friend but not as a neighbor (*Gallicus amicus non vicinus* was its common expression). Pomponne's answer was a profoundly personal interpretation, conceived, as De Witt tacitly admitted, in terms of Dutch interests:

I told [De Witt] that if I were a Dutchman, I might indeed be disturbed to see the situation of this state, but that I would not at all change the ancient maxims by which it had been established; that I might well view with anxiety the power of France so near by, but I should look with much greater fear on the means by which I might be made safe from it; that, being unable to keep France at a distance and having only Spain, England, and Sweden to set against her, I should consider it a much lesser peril to place my trust in an ally whose affection and assistance I had always known, rather than trust myself wholly to powers, some irreconcilable, others frequently enemies, and several newly offended; that it was difficult to believe that a good understanding could be long maintained with so many causes, however deeply concealed, for breaking it, and that, adapting myself to a decision of Heaven which I could not change, I should prefer a lesser to the greater danger, and a powerful and tested friend to reconciled foes who remain always suspect.⁴³

The constant themes of Pomponne's personality are present in these words: his belief that one should accept the dictates of fate and work within them; his readiness to do the best with the situation at hand; his avoidance of needless quarrels; most important of all, his ability to look at others with

⁴¹ Grémonville, French ambassador at Vienna, to Pomponne, Mar. 31, 1669 (citing a report from Kramprich, imperial resident at The Hague), Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 4713, fol. 6. Cf. Wicquefort, *Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas*, IV, 21; and Pomponne to Louis XIV, Jan. 30, 1670, *Arch. étr., Holl.*, t. 90, fol. 40vo.

⁴² Pomponne to Louis XIV, Jan. 30, 1670, *ibid.*, t. 90, fol. 39ro.

⁴³ Pomponne to Louis XIV, Mar. 7, 1669, *ibid.*, t. 89, fols. 75vo-76ro.

a deep, objective sympathy such as the historian may well envy. For he meant what he said to De Witt. In a letter to Robert de Gravel, the French envoy at Ratisbon, he presented these views as his own.⁴⁴

Soon afterward Pomponne decided that "the malady was desperate and no reasons were capable of curing the fears and ill will" of the Dutch,⁴⁵ and he frankly warned their leaders of "the peril in the principle . . . that the qualities of friend and neighbor were incompatible."⁴⁶ Lionne then decided that Pomponne's role as observer had become more important than that as negotiator, "since The Hague is and will be for a long time the shop in which every machination against France is woven."⁴⁷

Pomponne accepted wholeheartedly the program of war against the Dutch as laid down in the treaty of Dover in 1670. But he approved the war for the attainment of specific political objectives, not for its own sake, for, as De Witt's friend Abraham de Wicquefort wrote, "His natural sentiments took the direction of maintaining the repose of Christendom."⁴⁸ Basically, he believed France would have the advantage in such a war, though the Dutch would fight well and stubbornly.⁴⁹ Yet he glimpsed weaknesses in the French system of alliances prepared by Lionne. He was especially disturbed by the treaty with England which promised her territory on the European mainland as part of the victory. Not only would England become "absolute mistress of the seas," but her foothold in Zeeland, "the best land in the world," would provide "an easy road for the conquest of Holland."⁵⁰

Pomponne's honesty was revealed in its limitations as well during this Dutch mission. Whatever his personal probity, he expected others to be corrupt and willingly used their venality for his own purposes.⁵¹ Like his predecessor, Estrades, he used corruption as a means of diplomatic action, but where Estrades distributed bribes widely in an effort to control the course of Dutch policy,⁵² Pomponne used his slush fund for the purchase of spies.⁵³

⁴⁴ Pomponne to Gravel, Mar. 12, 1669, *ibid.*, t. 89, fol. 86ro.

⁴⁵ Pomponne to Lionne, Mar. 21, 1669, Mignet, III, 580.

⁴⁶ Pomponne to Louis XIV, Mar. 21, 1669, *Arch. étr., Holl.*, t. 89, fol. 98ro.

⁴⁷ Lionne to Pomponne, July 24, 1669, Paris, Bib. Arsenal, MS. 4712, fol. 94ro.

⁴⁸ Wicquefort, IV, 21.

⁴⁹ Pomponne to Lionne, May 9, 1669, *Arch. étr., Holl.*, t. 89, fol. 174ro.

⁵⁰ Pomponne, *Mémoires*, II, 484-85.

⁵¹ See various dispatches of Pomponne to the French court, April 3 to May 8, 1670, concerning attempts by himself and Count Koenigsmarck to blackmail Appelboom, Swedish resident at The Hague, into delaying transmittal of the Swedish instruments of ratification of the Triple Alliance. *Arch. étr., Holl.*, t. 90, fols. 117ro-193 *passim*.

⁵² *Lettres, mémoires et négociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades* . . . (9 vols.; London [actually The Hague], 1743), II-V *passim*; Pieter Geyl, "D'Estrades' beweringen omtrent de omkoopbaarheid der Nederlandse regenten," *Nederlandsche Historiebladen*, II (1939), 163-73; Rowen, in *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XXVI, 9.

⁵³ Pomponne to Louis XIV, Jan. 30, 1670, *Arch. étr., Holl.*, t. 90, fol. 43vo; De Witt to De Groot, Dec. 31, 1671, J. Heemskerk Bz., "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Diplomatie," *De Gids*, XVI (1852), 356-57.

Pomponne at last began to be oppressed again by his plague of tiresome inactivity. The termination of his mission at The Hague came, however, not as the result of his own pleas, but because he was needed again in Sweden. Magnus de la Gardie, the Francophile chancellor of Sweden, turned to Pomponne to help him break Sweden away from the Triple Alliance. De la Gardie asked that Pomponne be sent again to Sweden as ambassador; he would be received there "with joy and do much more in less time," the French resident reported.⁵⁴ Thus Pomponne replaced Dangeau, who had already been named to the embassy at Stockholm but was still in France.⁵⁵ The news of this new appointment to Sweden surprised and depressed Pomponne, and he asked Lionne to be excused from having to spend another winter in the bleak north. Lionne assured him the king would not change his mind and Pomponne accepted what he could not change. Asked by Louis during a conference at Dunkirk in May, 1671, for his views on the situation in Sweden and the best policy to follow there, Pomponne presented so lucid and effective an impromptu report that he was instructed to put these views into writing.⁵⁶ This report was taken by Lionne and turned into Pomponne's formal instructions, a compliment of rare high order.⁵⁷ Pomponne returned at once to The Hague, where the Dutch were deeply disturbed by the news of his going. He took his formal leave of the States-General and sailed from Amsterdam in mid-July.⁵⁸ Before his departure, he attempted to put off the Grand Pensionary as to the significance of his new appointment with bland assurances, but the Hollander was not taken in; as Pomponne wrote, he "employed the freedom I had earlier given him not to believe me."⁵⁹ On this note of incredulity, Pomponne's mission to The Hague ended.

In Stockholm Pomponne found affairs much as he had anticipated. It was difficult to negotiate with the Swedes: they wanted good pay for their alliance but were reluctant to send their troops into actual combat.⁶⁰ Other difficulties arose from the uncertainties in French policy-making. At one point, having pressed for a quick reply to his proposals, he was thrown off balance by orders from France to delay concluding an alliance: the French court had not yet decided whether it would be better to purchase the assistance of the dukes

⁵⁴ Rousseau to Lionne, Apr. 15, 1671, Mignet, III, 296.

⁵⁵ Pomponne, "Ambassade extraordinaire de Suède 1671," Paris, Bib. Arsenal, MS. 4713, fol. 139ro.

⁵⁶ Pomponne, *Relation de mon ambassade en Hollande, 1669-1671*, ed. Herbert H. Rowen, Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, 4th Ser., no. 2 (Utrecht, 1955), p. 164.

⁵⁷ Pomponne, "Ambassade de Suède 1671," fol. 139vo.

⁵⁸ Pomponne, *Relation de Hollande*, pp. 165, 166, 169.

⁵⁹ Pomponne to Louis XIV, June 25, 1671, Mignet, III, 648.

⁶⁰ Pomponne, "Ambassade de Suède 1671," fol. 145ro.

of Brunswick-Lüneburg or that of the king of Sweden. Now he had to dilly-dally—but without appearing to! Only the “natural slowness” of the Swedes saved him “great embarrassment,” for he feared that they would realize they were not needed and at once take up his prior offers.⁶¹ Pomponne was annoyed, too, that his negotiation had been undercut in this fashion. He wrote to Lionne early in September that he “wished very much he had not come to Stockholm.”⁶² He began to look forward to another period of tedium “in a languishing negotiation, with little repute.”⁶³

But, at the very time when Pomponne was complaining to him, Lionne was no longer alive. He had died on the first day of September, and when Pomponne heard the news he sincerely mourned a friend who “had always supported him.”⁶⁴ A report in the *Gazette de Hollande* that he might succeed Lionne did not arouse his hopes: “being so far away from court, where I expected no recommendation except that of my services, I scarcely believed myself to be in a position to seek the office of secretary of state.”⁶⁵ This recommendation, however, turned out to be all that he needed. Louis decided this new and important appointment without consultation, and selected Pomponne because he had “performed well” his diplomatic tasks.⁶⁶ The king informed Pomponne of his decision in a letter written in his own hand, and helped him to pay for the office.⁶⁷ Instructing Pomponne to complete his mission and hasten back to France without delay, the king promised “to consummate fully the benefits I bestow upon you, which to many do not appear small. They mark for you the esteem in which I hold your person; I need say no more.”⁶⁸ Thankful as he was for the royal “benefits,” Pomponne was aware that things might not always go so well.

Thus [he wrote later], I saw myself suddenly elevated to one of the most important posts in the state, without being obligated to anything except the action of the king himself, and having undergone none of the difficulties and anxieties always attached to claims and solicitations at court. All the same, I may say that I did not misunderstand fortune because she presented herself to me in a pleasant aspect; that, not allowing myself to be overwhelmed by her favors, I kept always in mind her native inconstancy; and that when she seemed to be thrusting more

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 151–53ro.

⁶² Georges Pagès, *Le Grand Electeur et Louis XIV: 1660–1688* (Paris, 1905), p. 265 n. 3.

⁶³ Pomponne, “Ambassade de Suède 1671,” fol. 153ro.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 154ro.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 154ro. Cf. Arnauld, pp. 339–40.

⁶⁶ *Oeuvres de Louis XIV* (4 vols.; Paris, 1806), II, 458. Cf. F. J. L. Krämer, ed., *Lettres de Pierre de Groot à Abraham de Wicquefort*, Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, 3d Ser., no. 5 (The Hague, 1894), p. 54; Mme. de Sévigné, *Lettres*, ed. G. Gailly (1 vol. pub.; Paris, 1953—), I, 412.

⁶⁷ Louis XIV to Pomponne, Sept. 5, 1671, *Coulanges*, pp. 434–35; Pomponne, “Relation de Suède 1671,” fol. 154; Arnauld, p. 355.

⁶⁸ Louis XIV to Pomponne, Sept. 5, 1671, *Coulanges*, p. 435.

gifts upon me than I could bear, I did not forget that a wise man can place no confident reliance upon them.⁶⁹

While Louvois, the son of his old friend Le Tellier, performed, not unskillfully,⁷⁰ the duties of his office until his return, Pomponne had to stay on at Stockholm. By early December, he completed a treaty of alliance, with only the exact amount of the French subsidies left open. "That very night, only a few hours after the [Swedish] deputies had left," Pomponne sailed from Stockholm. After reaching Hamburg, he hastened home over bad roads through wintry weather, arriving at Saint-Germain on January 12, 1672. The king talked over the state of affairs with him in private conference the very same evening, the next day he entered the *Conseil d'en haut* as a minister, and three days later took his oath as secretary of state for foreign affairs. The king accepted his proposals for maintenance of the re-established Swedish alliance, and he could feel, as he began his new tasks, that he had fulfilled his assignment at Stockholm.⁷¹

Apart from the conclusion of the Swedish business, there was little major diplomatic activity to hold his attention. In April, 1672, the war against the Dutch began. The start of campaigning placed the main burden of activity upon Louvois, now war minister. He wished to run the war against the States-General as his own affair, in his own way, and inevitably came into conflict with Pomponne. The first clash occurred in late June, when the States-General, with their eastern defenses in almost complete collapse, sent a delegation to Louis' camp to offer advantageous terms for peace. Pomponne argued for accepting the Dutch offer: its terms would end the war with a glorious victory for France; the menace of a combination of powers against France would be smashed even before it was formed. But Louvois, in his ignorance of the Dutch spirit, thought that the envoys from The Hague would sign anything. He persuaded Louis to demand conditions that would have destroyed the effective independence of the United Provinces. The States-General, preferring to fight in such a case, rejected these terms. Afterward Louis seems to have realized that Louvois, by playing on his love of glory, had led him into needless difficulties.⁷² Pomponne himself has left no

⁶⁹ Pomponne, "Relation de Suède 1671," fol. 154ro. Cf. a similar statement by his brother in Arnould, p. 339.

⁷⁰ Ezéchiel Spanheim, *Relation de la Cour de France en 1690*, ed. Emile Bourgeois, *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, n. s., II, fasc. 5 (Paris and Lyons, 1900), pp. 330-31, reporting the recollections of diplomats then at the French court.

⁷¹ Pomponne, "Relation de Suède 1671," fol. 161; Pagès, p. 267.

⁷² Mignet, IV, 22, 31-37; Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de son administration politique et militaire* (4 vols.; Paris, 1862-63), I, 376-79; Burnet, I, 576-77; H. C. Foxcroft, ed., *A Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Time . . .* (Oxford, 1902), p. 185; [Charles Auguste marquis de la Fare], *Mémoires et réflexions sur les principaux événements du Règne de Louis XIV . . .* (new ed., Amsterdam, 1755), pp. 86-87.

explicit defense of his position at this time, but we may well imagine his attitude from his brother's savage criticism of Louis' decision:

Everyone pays M. de Pomponne the honor of believing that he favored peace. The contrary view prevailed, however, and we must believe rightly so, for the king allowed himself to be won over to it. Indeed, there is the greatest delight for a prince enamored of glory in seeing himself at the head of a victorious army, able to carry his conquests where he pleases. If England had not failed him, if some slight impatience to see Versailles again had not slackened the ardor of his troops by depriving them of his presence, he might have carried out his great design. It must also be granted that he rose to greater fame because the war continued. Otherwise, no one would have believed that he would be able by his forces alone not only to resist all the powers of the Empire, Spain, and the United Provinces, but even to make considerable gains over them each year. To be sure, these are weighty reasons for approving the resolutions that were taken then. But, on the other hand, if we consider how much blood and how many millions this glory cost us, there may be some few to hold it most dearly bought. . . .⁷³

Meanwhile, at The Hague, John de Witt resigned his office, and the government fell into the eager grip of William III. Then, on August 20, a mob lynched the fallen Grand Pensionary and his brother Cornelius. To Pomponne, De Witt's murder was always a "black deed," a "tragic [*funeste*] death," and he honored the Grand Pensionary as "the first man of the republic and one of the most capable ministers of his time."⁷⁴ But the memory of his own relationship with De Witt long troubled Pomponne. When he wrote an account of his Dutch mission about a decade later, Pomponne appears to have meditated upon the relationship between his own duplicity and the great Hollander's death. Had he contributed to De Witt's destruction? Pomponne did not think so, for he found it hard to believe that "a minister as enlightened as he should have been deceived by generalities when everything occurring at our court was so different in character."⁷⁵

Once the French armies proved incapable of transforming their early triumphs into total victory, diplomatic activity again became important. To prevent the German princes from uniting against Louis, Pomponne plied them with his usual persuasive arguments, though Turenne's repeated victories in Alsace and the Rhineland until his death in 1675 were perhaps reasons of greater cogency.⁷⁶ However, when Pomponne urged the French representatives at the peace conference which opened at Cologne in 1673 to seek an end to the war, Louvois, now openly his rival, assured them that even if all Europe joined together against France, there would be no danger. French

⁷³ Arnauld, pp. 346-48.

⁷⁴ Pomponne, *Mémoires*, II, 488, 492, 494.

⁷⁵ Pomponne, *Relation de Hollande*, p. 169.

⁷⁶ Bertrand Auerbach, *La diplomatie française et la cour de Saxe (1648-1680)* (Paris, 1887), p. 373.

and imperial intransigence combined to make the conference a failure.⁷⁷

Despite Pomponne's earlier admiration for Louis' judgment, he began to be critical of the monarch's policy and personality. This was reflected in a letter his wife wrote to his cousin, Isaac de Feuquières, in which she condemned those who "want things for no other reason than that they want them."⁷⁸

After 1676, Pomponne's diplomatic activity centered on the negotiations at Nijmegen (Nimwegen), in the easternmost Netherlands, between the belligerents. Though Louis' armies continued to win most of the victories on the battlefields, Pomponne directed the efforts of the French negotiators essentially toward the goals of ending the war and breaking up the coalition which had by now been formed against France. He drew upon his deep knowledge of the Dutch to win them away from the Grand Alliance. First, he sacrificed Colbert's high tariff of 1667,⁷⁹ and then he played upon the fears of the Dutch republicans that the stadholder William III was trying to make himself a dynastic monarch—it was almost as if he were negotiating with the ghost of John de Witt.⁸⁰

Thus the Dutch, the intended victims of the war of 1672, emerged from it unscathed and with substantial advantage, while Spain paid the piper's price by ceding Franche-Comté, the old Burgundian province in the east. Though this was the modest total of French gains, Louis' adulators proclaimed that he had reached the "summit of human glory," and bestowed upon him the appellation of "le Grand." Despite Pomponne's successful direction of the negotiations at Nijmegen, he was dismissed from office in September, 1679, not long after the treaties of peace were all at last signed. Louis wanted more substantial glory than Nijmegen; in his own words, "A lofty heart is difficult to make content and cannot be fully satisfied except by glory."⁸¹ Louis complained, too, that Pomponne "lacked the grandeur and force one should have in executing the orders of a king of France who is not unfortunate." He felt that his foreign minister's "desire to please and his goodness," combined with his "weakness, stubbornness and lack of assiduity," had cost him dearly at Nijmegen.⁸² Pomponne's position had also been

⁷⁷ E. Lavisse, *Louis XIV: La religion, les lettres et les arts, la guerre (1643-1685)*, Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Revolution française, ed. E. Lavisse, VII² (Paris, 1906), 379; cf. J. B. H. R. Capéfigue, *Louis XIV, son gouvernement et ses relations diplomatiques avec l'Europe* (6 vols.; Paris, 1837-38), II, 1, 270-71; Droz, *Histoire diplomatique*, p. 34.

⁷⁸ Mme. de Pomponne to Feuquières, Feb. 23, 1673, *Feuquières*, II, 376.

⁷⁹ Charles Woolsey Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism* (2 vols.; New York, 1939), I, 449-50.

⁸⁰ Capéfigue, II, 71-72, 79-80.

⁸¹ Louis XIV, "Relation de la campagne de 1678 et résultat de la paix de Nimègue," *Oeuvres*, IV, 143-76.

⁸² Louis XIV, "Réflexions sur le métier du Roi," *ibid.*, II, 453-59.

weakened by the collapse of the "Peace of the Church," though he had continued to be cautious about Jansenist matters,⁸³ and his uncle Antoine had sought to avoid embarrassing his nephew by involving him in "our wretched affairs."⁸⁴ In the conflict over the *Régale*, or royal right to appoint to certain ecclesiastical offices, the Jansenists had for once taken the papal side. They had abandoned their traditional Gallicanism for an unfamiliar ultramontanism when a friendly pope, Innocent XI, was elected in 1676. The penalty was the loss of their support in the *parlements* and Louis XIV's toleration.⁸⁵ The king, fearing that Pomponne too might serve the papacy instead of himself,⁸⁶ resorted in 1679 to a *secret du roi*, or private correspondence with the French ambassador at Rome outside usual diplomatic channels.⁸⁷ Another factor in Pomponne's downfall was the rivalry of Colbert and Louvois. Both had desired his office, but Colbert furnished the occasion for Pomponne's dismissal on the grounds that he had gone off to his estate at Pomponne instead of bringing to the king eagerly awaited dispatches on the projected marriage of his brother, the duke of Orléans. Colbert's brother, Croissy, was appointed in Pomponne's place.⁸⁸

Pomponne's dismissal turned out to be a disgrace with a difference. Despite his criticism, the king recognized that Pomponne had never been disloyal and paid him unusual personal honor for one turned out of office. He was not exiled, and he retained the title of minister of state and his pension of 20,000 francs. But it was still a disgrace and a blow to Pomponne: he lost his influence over policy, his post of activity, his opportunity to aid his own. Pomponne and his family went to his name estate to live. By February, 1680, the king's ire against him had evaporated. In a personal audience with Pomponne, Louis promised to aid his family,⁸⁹ and Pomponne made three more visits to court by mid-March.⁹⁰ It was not very long before the king made good his promise. In 1682, he elevated the estate of Pomponne to a marquisate (only thereafter was Simon Arnauld called "le marquis de

⁸³ Sainte-Beuve, IX, 228.

⁸⁴ *Lettres de messire Antoine Arnauld*, II, in *Oeuvres* (42 vols.; Lausanne, 1743), II, 3-63 *passim*.

⁸⁵ Abercrombie, *Origins of Jansenism*, pp. xii, 287.

⁸⁶ Gérin, "La disgrâce de M. de Pomponne," *Revue des questions historiques*, XXIII (1878), 58.

⁸⁷ Spanheim, *Relation de la Cour*, p. 412; Gérin, "La disgrâce . . .," pp. 37-61; A. de Saint-Léger et al., *Louis XIV: La fin du règne*, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution française*, ed. E. Lavisse, VIII¹ (Paris, 1908), pp. 312-13.

⁸⁸ Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois*, II, 571-74.

⁸⁹ Tourmont to Feuquières, Feb. 8, 1680, *Feuquières*, V, 86. I have found no explanation of Louis' change of attitude. He probably recognized Pomponne's fidelity, but more must have been involved.

⁹⁰ Mme. de Pomponne to Feuquières, Mar. 21, 1680, *ibid.*, V, 117. Cf. Saint-Simon, VI, 347-48.

Pomponne”), and in subsequent years granted regiments to two of Pomponne’s sons and an abbey to a third.

Pomponne’s old demon, idleness, did not lose the opportunity afforded him by Pomponne’s fall from power. The erstwhile minister soon complained of being “out of affairs and almost out of news.”⁹¹ To keep his mind busy, he began to write a series of memoirs. These are not the story of his life but relations of his Dutch and second Swedish missions and a strikingly impersonal and objective analysis of the policy and character of all the more important European states.⁹² Recalling that in 1671 he had received the news of his appointment as foreign minister with thoughts of the fickleness of fate, he now wrote:

I cannot praise God too greatly for having then inspired such sentiments in me, and for having maintained me in them for the eight years during which I filled the post, for it is to them that I owe, I do not know whether I can say the firmness, but at least the submission and tranquillity with which God caused me to accept the overturn of my fortune and a disgrace which I may believe with justice I did not in any way deserve.⁹³

Pomponne soon disappeared from the arena of public attention. His name was seldom mentioned; his retirement seemed permanent, though now and again he was seen at court and received by the king.⁹⁴ The years passed by, filled with the violent, arrogant diplomacy favored by Croissy and Louvois and more in keeping with Louis’ image of himself than Pomponne’s prudent system had been. Then, in 1691, Louvois at last drew the wrath of the monarch down upon himself: the success of William III’s Grand Alliance was proof that Louvois’ bullying, for all its moments of triumph, ended ultimately in disaster. Louvois’ brusqueness, too, won him the enmity of the ever more influential Madame de Maintenon. Worst of all, he had forgotten that a royal servant, always subordinate, must portray his successes as the king’s, not his own, that Louis XIV would brook no new Richelieu or Mazarin. In August, 1691, Louvois died on the eve of public disgrace, unregretted by his master.⁹⁵

On the very day of Louvois’ death,⁹⁶ Louis astounded the world by calling Pomponne back into active political life.⁹⁷ Pomponne’s purely honorific status

⁹¹ Pomponne to Feuquières, Mar. 9, 1680, *Feuquières*, V, 102.

⁹² Cf. Varin, *La vérité sur les Arnauld*, II, 43; Pagès, “L’histoire diplomatique du règne de Louis XIV: Sources et état des travaux,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, VII (1906), 658.

⁹³ Pomponne, “Relation de Suède 1671,” fol. 154.

⁹⁴ Cf. Antoine Arnauld, II, 695; Saint-Simon, VI, 348.

⁹⁵ Cf. Léon Lecestre, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Hilaire* (2 vols.; Paris, 1903–1906), II, 200; La Fare, *Mémoires et réflexions*, pp. 297–305.

⁹⁶ Saint-Simon, III, 142.

⁹⁷ Again Louis’ motivation has remained undocumented, so far as I have been able to discover, though the explanation that Pomponne was the very opposite of Louvois in character and policy seems obvious.

as minister of state was transformed into actual membership once again in the *Conseil d'en haut*. Croissy was not dropped from the council or from his secretaryship of state, but shared with Pomponne, now past seventy years of age, the function of debate and counsel on foreign affairs, so that they were actually co-ministers for foreign affairs. The grueling task of preparing dispatches and running the foreign office as secretary of state remained Croissy's. The king also took the occasion to abolish all ranks of precedence within the council; the actual seating placed Pomponne in a middle position.⁹⁸

Louis now understood the nature of Pomponne's relation to Jansenism. When *le grand* Arnauld lay ill in 1693 in the Spanish Netherlands, the king asked Pomponne for news of his uncle's health, amid general surprise. But he did not change the status of the absent theologian,⁹⁹ and the bitter controversy with the Jansenists did not abate. Arnauld would have been allowed to return to France if he were ready to live with his nephew. But such a concession, the greatest to which Pomponne would commit himself, was rejected by Arnauld as ill-disguised confinement.¹⁰⁰ In general, Pomponne continued to avoid involvement in Jansenist affairs and could not even win for his uncle the posthumous pardon of a laudatory epitaph when he died, in exile still, a few years later. Pomponne was hardly the "ambassador" or "agent" of Jansenism in the government some have thought him to be,¹⁰¹ for in the deepest sense he was not and never had been a Jansenist.

Louis XIV used the opportunity of Pomponne's recall to office to devise an end to the hostility between the Colberts and the Pomponnes—though when he had begun his personal rule he had looked upon dissension among his ministers as assurance that none would aspire to Mazarin's post. The king sponsored the betrothal of Pomponne's daughter, Catherine Félicité, and Croissy's son, the marquis de Torcy. Though Pomponne sought to overcome Croissy's hostility,¹⁰² his grumpy, gouty colleague did not really forget bygones. The marriage of their children was not performed until after Croissy's death in 1696, and then the king insisted that the intervening period of mourning be shortened to a few weeks.¹⁰³ Torcy became secretary of state for foreign affairs; Pomponne remained minister of state and supervised Torcy's performance of the workaday tasks of his office. Torcy drafted dis-

⁹⁸ *Mémoires de l'abbé de Choisy pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XIV*, ed. de Lescure (2 vols.; Paris, 1888), I, 106.

⁹⁹ Sainte-Beuve, VIII, 42.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 251-52.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 41; Saint-Léger, p. 280; J. B. Dubos, secretary of the Académie Française, to Pierre Bayle, Apr. 27, 1696, E. Gigas, ed., *Choix de la correspondance inédite de Pierre Bayle, 1670-1706* (Copenhagen, 1890), p. 266.

¹⁰² Saint-Simon, VI, 349.

¹⁰³ Bishop Bossuet to abbé Bossuet, July 29, 1696, J. B. Bossuet, *Correspondence*, ed. C. Urbain and E. Levesque (15 vols.; Paris, 1909-25), VIII, 15-16.

patches, but Pomponne presented correspondence to and from ministers abroad in the council. Ambassadors were received at Pomponne's residence, with Torcy in attendance, except at Versailles, where they shared the lodgings assigned to the foreign secretary.¹⁰⁴ Pomponne's tasks thus kept him busy without exceeding the limited energies of a septuagenarian. Pomponne and Torcy between them directed the negotiations of the compromise peace of Rijswijk (Ryswick) in 1697 and of the treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy which marked the two subsequent years.¹⁰⁵ In September, 1699, in his eighty-first year, Pomponne died.¹⁰⁶

A long and eventful career had come to an end, marked by a complex and varying relationship between the king and his servant. When Louis XIV wanted prudence and moderation in a councillor, he turned to Pomponne. As for the statesman himself, though an Arnauld, he could serve the king because he was not personally committed to the theology of Jansenism. He took no clear-cut position in the great unending debate between the advocates of ethical politics and the proponents of reason of state. At different times both might well have claimed him for their own, yet he really belonged to neither camp: though affairs of state were for him usually ethically neutral, he was not afraid to pass judgment upon their morality by his lights, as well as their efficacy. If not, in any simple sense, the "honest diplomat" contemporaries called him, he does represent the quality of *honnêteté* so prized in the seventeenth century. Since this was a kind of constant courtesy and fair conduct in relation to one's fellow men, an equable decency in the harsh commerce of this world, perhaps Pomponne carried "honesty" as far as it could go without violating reason of state. Any judgment as to the character of the French state under Louis XIV must take into account that a man such as Pomponne could serve it.

It is clear, from the evidence of Pomponne, that much of the prevailing image of the character and policy of Louis XIV must be revised. The easy moralism of the German historians, with their diatribes against Louis' "Raubkriege," is as deceptive as the facile praise, or less frequent blame, which French historians bestow upon his quest for glory. Application of present standards of judgment to the events of the late seventeenth century is not merely anachronistic but has helped to divert our attention from significant figures, such as Pomponne, who do not fit the traditional picture of France under Louis XIV. Our short examination of Pomponne's career may not only

¹⁰⁴ Saint-Simon, III, 141-44.

¹⁰⁵ [Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Torcy] *Mémoires de M. de **** pour servir à l'histoire des négociations depuis le Traité de Riswick jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht* (3 vols.; The Hague, 1756), I, 43.

¹⁰⁶ Saint-Simon (VI, 351) tells us he ate too much cold veal and peaches.

have served to demonstrate the necessity of much wider and deeper study of this period but may indicate as well one direction which such study and reinterpretation may take.

For instance, the common assumption that Louis XIV always strove to control his ministers by keeping them at daggers' points with each other is belied by his insistence on a marriage alliance between the Pomponne and Colbert families. We are also struck by his loyalty to his ministers, his financial aid to them, his support of their incorporation into the highest nobility, the considerable leeway he permitted them in the operation of their offices. Another question of much broader significance also presents itself. Did Louis XIV actually follow any consistent system of policy? It would not seem so, at least in foreign affairs, where he shifted between aggressive and more passive policies under the spur of immediate necessities and opportunities as well as the desire for so vague, though real, a goal as glory.

It is not solely in the study of motivations that reinterpretation is needed but also in the examination of the methods and personnel of his diplomacy. Here a contrast between Pomponne and Louis XIV may furnish a clue. Both were men of great prudence, but the minister was cautious first and foremost in setting goals for policy, while the king thought less about the consequences of attaining his objectives than about being sure of achieving them. Pomponne, by nature and principle skeptical of far-reaching human aspirations, was satisfied to accept and work within the pattern of sovereign independent states; Louis XIV, though not hostile to other states as such, was not concerned lest his actions smash the European states system. How and where the Sun King may stand after historical re-examination is uncertain; that he—and his ministers—will appear more complex and hence infinitely more human, seems assured.

State University of Iowa

The Pure-Food Issue: A Republican Dilemma, 1906-1912

OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

JUST after the Civil War Harvey W. Wiley, a Hanover College student, jotted down a proposition, perhaps for debate in his literary society: "Resolved . . . that a republican who supports Johnson is no better than a Democrat and that a democrat sustains the same relation to the political world, that a damned sinner does to the moral."¹ Wiley was steadfast in the Republican faith. Shortly after McKinley became President, he exulted, "It is so good to have a republican administration once more. I hope it will last for twenty years at least."² Yet in 1912, after he had won fame as a pure-food reformer, Wiley campaigned vigorously for the Democratic candidates. He contributed an article to *The Democratic Text-Book*; he served as a vice-president of the Wilson National Progressive Republican League; he headed the Bureau of Health Conservation of the Women's National Wilson and Marshall Organization; he even took the stump to urge other life-long Republicans to support the Democratic standard-bearers. Theodore Roosevelt, he argued, had subverted his efforts to enforce the Pure Food and Drugs Act in the manner intended by Congress and had abandoned consumers to the rapacity of a few mercenary manufacturers. William Howard Taft had inherited a bad situation which he did nothing to correct. He long held to the Republican party, said Wiley, "in the conviction that . . . it would not suffer itself . . . to become the refuge and the protector of the gambler, the dollar lover, the cheat and the adulterator," but now he thought the party "so completely subjugated by the Dollar, so permeated by the canker of Big Business as its only god, that only disastrous defeat can ever restore it to health." He was convinced that "when Wilson and Marshall have taken office the food laws of the country will be administered for the public good as intended, both in the spirit and the letter of the law."³

That others agreed with Wiley had been brought frequently to the atten-

¹ Hanover Note Book, 158, Harvey W. Wiley Papers (cited hereafter as WP), Library of Congress.

² Wiley to S. S. Grigsby, Mar. 6, 1897, WP, Letterpress Volumes.

³ The quotations are from "Why I Support Wilson and Marshall," a manuscript copy of an address Wiley delivered at Terre Haute, Ind., Oct. 2, 1912, WP, General Correspondence. His other speeches were similar.

tion of President Taft, of Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, and of Republican legislators. Taft realized that the pure-food issue was a political liability, and in August, 1912, he engineered a vain attempt to dissuade Wiley from attacking him.⁴ Over in the Democratic camp Wiley and pure food were regarded as effective ammunition. Josephus Daniels and Homer S. Cummings were eager for the reformer's help, while Woodrow Wilson himself discussed pure food on several occasions.⁵

Though not a major issue in 1912, pure food was more important than usually is realized. It may have had greater political impact than conservation. When Wiley was under fire in the summer of 1911, a Kentuckian asked, "What are they trying to do with Dr. Wiley?" On being told it "Looks like another Pinchot matter," he replied, "Pinchot h—, we don't eat lumber."⁶ Its real significance, however, is as one more feature in the combination of circumstances that doomed the Republicans in 1912. We need to study the administration of the pure-food law. We need to understand the dilemma in which Republican leadership found itself and to see if Roosevelt and Taft by a different course could have stood at Armageddon without this defect in their political armor.

On the last day of June, 1906, Theodore Roosevelt rode to the Capitol and signed the Pure Food and Drugs Act, a measure that culminated a long fight to extend federal protection to consumers. Many had combined to make the law possible, but two names need special mention here—Harvey W. Wiley and Theodore Roosevelt. As chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture Wiley instituted systematic investigations of food adulterations. He helped develop methods of analysis. He tested the effects of chemical preservatives on the health of a panel of young volunteers, the "Poison Squad." He assisted the organization of pure-food congresses, recruited workers for the cause, sought to consolidate support for specific proposals, and at all times consulted closely with leaders in Congress, supplying information and helping to draft legislation.⁷ President Roosevelt in contrast was a late convert. Though he

⁴ M. Moores to Taft, Aug. 13, 1912, and cross-reference slip summarizing letter from Moores, Aug. 14, 1912. William Howard Taft Papers (cited hereafter as TP), Presidential Series No. 2, Library of Congress.

⁵ Daniels to Wiley, Sept. 5, 1912, and Cummings to A. L. Pierce, Oct. 2, 1912, WP, General Correspondence; New York *World*, Sept. 10, 1912; Washington *Evening Star*, Sept. 18, 1912. The writer is indebted to Dr. John W. Davidson for permission to read the stenographic report of Wilson's Sioux City, Iowa, speech.

⁶ R. M. Allen to Wiley, July 22, 1911, WP, General Correspondence. Archie Butt thought the Pinchot excitement would appear as a "zephyr" in comparison with the storm that would follow Wiley's removal. *Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Military Aide* (New York, 1930), II, 695.

⁷ For a summary of Wiley's work see *Harvey W. Wiley: An Autobiography* (Indianapolis, 1930), pp. 198-230. His efforts may be followed in detail in Records of the Bureau of Chemistry, National Archives.

had been urged to recommend passage of a federal law as early as his first annual message to Congress, not until December, 1905, did he act. But his final commitment was important. Repeatedly he reminded Speaker Cannon that he was concerned about the bill and considered its passage imperative. Though in the heat of the Bull Moose campaign T.R. was to exaggerate his role, it is clear that in 1906 he threw his influence into the balance.⁸

The act, approved by overwhelming majorities in both Senate and House, prohibited interstate or foreign commerce in any food or drug that was adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of certain general definitions. Violations were punishable by fine or imprisonment or both, though a dealer was to be immune from prosecution when he could produce a guaranty from middleman or manufacturer that the articles concerned did not violate the law. Adulterated or misbranded products could be proceeded against in the federal district courts and seized by libel for condemnation. Though uniform regulations for carrying out these provisions were to be formulated by the Secretaries of the Treasury, of Commerce and Labor, and of Agriculture, responsibility for administration rested in the latter's department. Foods and drugs were to be examined by the Bureau of Chemistry. If adulteration or misbranding had taken place, the Secretary of Agriculture was to give notice to the party from whom the sample was obtained. Anyone so notified was to be given a hearing, and if it appeared that the law had been violated, the Secretary was at once to certify the facts to the proper district attorney.⁹

Now the Roosevelt administration faced the task of making the statute an effective regulatory tool. First the three secretaries formulated rules for enforcement. Next the Secretary of Agriculture began to issue food inspection decisions designed to publicize the official construction of the act.¹⁰ Late in

⁸ J. Wilson to Roosevelt, Nov. 15, 1901, Theodore Roosevelt Papers (cited hereafter as RP), Confidential File, Library of Congress. For evidence of T.R.'s concern see Roosevelt to Cannon, May 27, 1906, E. E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, 1951-54), V, 285-86; Cannon to W. Loeb, May 30, 1906, RP, Conf. File; and Roosevelt to Cannon, June 13, 1906, RP, Personal Letter Books. In 1912 Roosevelt, minimizing unfairly the work of others, took the lion's share of credit for the law. Roosevelt to W. E. Myer, Aug. 3, 1912, RP, T.R. Carbons. For attacks on the accuracy of his memory see W. B. Heyburn to Wiley, Aug. 23, 1912, and J. R. Mann to Wiley, Aug. 27, 1912, both included in "Why I Support Wilson and Marshall."

⁹ *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, XXXIV, Part 1, 768-72. State, Territorial, and District of Columbia officials could report violations to the district attorneys, but not many cases were brought to trial by this method.

¹⁰ Acting as the representative of James Wilson, Wiley met with agents of the other department heads and drafted forty regulations which set forth procedures for collecting samples and conducting hearings, specified methods of chemical analysis, and amplified somewhat the sections of the act that dealt with exports, imports, adulteration, and misbranding. A convenient reprint of these regulations with revisions is in "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings before the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture* [April 24-] August 22, 1911 (Washington, 1911), pp. 1006-15. Food inspection decisions through No. 138 (issued July 12, 1911) may be found in *ibid.*, pp. 1019-1120.

April, 1907, an important organizational step was taken when Secretary Wilson created a Board of Food and Drug Inspection and made Wiley its chairman. The two other members were George P. McCabe, the able, aggressive solicitor of the Department of Agriculture, and Frederick L. Dunlap, a young chemist from the University of Michigan brought in especially for this post and given the title of associate chemist. The board was to consider all questions upon which the decision of the Secretary was necessary, to report its findings to him, and to conduct all hearings on alleged violations. The appointment of Dunlap and the creation of the board, which was accomplished with the full knowledge and consent of Roosevelt,¹¹ Wiley believed an attempt to checkmate the Bureau of Chemistry, to retaliate for his having convinced the President on the correctness of his views on the labeling of whisky.¹² Wilson, a canny Scot from Tama County, Iowa, now in his seventy-first year and Secretary of Agriculture for a decade, had a different explanation: Wiley's duties were such that an additional chemist was needed to devote full time to enforcement work. But there was more to it than this. Wilson, a farmer, a politician, an administrator, but neither a scientist nor a lawyer, was bewildered by the complexities that confronted him. There is no doubt he was losing confidence in Wiley and searching for a way to reduce his dependence on him.¹³

First of a series of celebrated controversies involved labeling. Just what should be called whisky? The difficulty grew out of the section on misbranding in the 1906 law which specified that the term "blend" should mean a mixture of like substances. On December 1, 1906, Secretary Wilson signed Food Inspection Decision 45, ruling that mixtures of bourbon whisky and neutral spirits (ethyl alcohol) were not to be labeled "blended whisky." Behind this was Wiley's reasoning that neutral spirits colored and flavored was not whisky but a spurious imitation thereof. When mixed with the genuine article, it was not a blend, for that could be only a mixture of *like* substances. Whisky, he believed, could be produced only by so distilling the fermented mash of cereals that the distillate contained not only ethyl alcohol but all the

¹¹ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary, General Order No. 111, Apr. 25, 1907 (photostat), Records of the Food and Drug Administration, Office of the Commissioner, Material Relating to Agitation for Pure Food Bill, National Archives; Wilson to Wiley, Apr. 24, 1907, WP, General Correspondence; Roosevelt to J. B. Angell, Mar. 19, 1907, RP, Personal Letter Books. Dunlap was not to participate in the normal administrative work of the Bureau of Chemistry but was to have an office and clerical force there and was expected to inform himself on all food and drug matters.

¹² "Why I Support Wilson and Marshall."

¹³ Wilson stressed his need for advice when he offered the appointment to Dunlap, and he made no secret of his belief that decisions on disputed questions were more readily accepted when not a one-man product. Wilson to Dunlap, Mar. 29, 1907, USDA General Records, Correspondence of the Office of the Solicitor, and Wilson to C. F. Scott, Jan. 13, 1909, *Congressional Record*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1882. See also "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," pp. 854-55.

congeneric products that were volatile at the temperatures of distillation. Thereafter aging in the wood was required to improve color, flavor, and aroma. Neutral spirits, however, produced in stills which permitted fractionating of the distillate, was ethyl alcohol with but mere traces of the congeneric substances that gave whisky its distinctive character. To Wiley this distinction was primarily a matter of honesty, not wholesomeness. A pure food or drink was what it was represented to be.¹⁴ Food Inspection Decision 45 stirred up a hornets' nest. Blending or rectifying firms protested to the President and Secretary of Agriculture that neutral spirits was no more than rectified, purified, and refined whisky and when colored and flavored always had been known as whisky.¹⁵ Concerned by the storm of protest, Theodore Roosevelt studied the question carefully and asked Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte for advice. When Bonaparte concluded that neutral spirits was not a like substance, the President directed that only a mixture of two or more straight whiskies should be called a "blend." Straight whisky mixed with ethyl alcohol should be marked a "compound" if there were enough straight whisky to make it genuinely a mixture, but neutral spirits with color and flavor was to be labeled an "imitation."¹⁶

Another labeling fight involved the sweet, viscous product of cornstarch treated with hydrochloric acid. For many years this commodity, known commercially as glucose, was not sold directly to the public but only to candy makers and others who found it a cheap adulterant. In 1902, however, the Corn Products Refining Company (in which Standard Oil stockholders and managers were prominent) began to sell it to the retail trade as "Karo Corn Sirup," a name chosen frankly to overcome prejudice against glucose. As soon as the pure-food law went into effect, Corn Products sought and obtained a hearing. "Glucose," it contended, was merely a trade name for a wholesome product against which the public was prejudiced, while "corn sirup" met the spirit of the food law because it told the consumer what it was—a sirup—and what it came from—corn. Wiley disagreed. "Corn sirup" was a deceptive term

¹⁴ One of Wiley's best presentations of his position is his Memorandum for the Attorney General, Oct. 8, 1907, WP, Whisky.

¹⁵ J. G. Schmidlapp to W. H. Taft, Dec. 14, 1906, USDA General Records, Correspondence of the Office of the Secretary, Food Laws; W. M. Hough to Wilson, Feb. 22, 1907, *ibid.*, Charges and Criticism; A. J. Sunstein to B. Penrose, Feb. 23, 1907, P. J. Bowlin Liquor Company to Roosevelt, Mar. 2, 1907, H. F. Corbin & Co. to Roosevelt, Mar. 7, 1907, and W. H. Rich to Roosevelt, Mar. 13, 1907, *ibid.*, Liquors.

¹⁶ Wiley to R. M. Allen, Mar. 30, 1907, WP, General Correspondence; Roosevelt to Wilson, Mar. 16, 1907, *Letters*, V, 624-25; Roosevelt to Wilson, Apr. 10, 1907, *Letters*, V, 645; H. W. Wiley, *The History of a Crime against the Food Law* . . . (Washington, 1929), pp. 108-13. When protests continued, Roosevelt directed Bonaparte to grant the complaining interests a rehearing. The Attorney General, however, found no reason to modify his original opinion. Bonaparte to Roosevelt, May 29, 1907 (printed copy), WP, Food and Drug Laws. The affected interests did not give up. H. C. Lodge to Roosevelt, Nov. 1, 1907, RP, Personal Pres. File.

used only to persuade people to buy what they otherwise would not. When early in November, 1907, the Board of Food and Drug Inspection decided that "corn sirup" was not a satisfactory synonym, Secretary Wilson approved, but Corn Products renewed its protests, and Wilson promised to hold the whole matter in abeyance pending presentation of additional information and new evidence. Now the company brought heavy political pressure to bear.¹⁷ At a new hearing the case for corn sirup was argued in greater detail, and the extent of the interest that allegedly would be affected adversely was stressed. Wiley stood by his contention, but McCabe and Dunlap reversed themselves and found "corn sirup" acceptable.¹⁸ The issue was closed in February, 1908, when Secretaries Cortelyou, Wilson, and Straus signed a decision sanctioning the term preferred by the industry. That Roosevelt himself made the key decision is clear from Wilson's 1911 recollection of a meeting at the White House: "The President had a phial of this sirup, and had his opinion with regard to the people that did not regard that as a sirup. . . . The long and short of it is that the three Secretaries got together, and they were convinced the President had logically selected the correct name."¹⁹

No food-law quarrels were more bitter than those stemming from the section that banned as adulterated food which contained any added poisonous or other deleterious ingredient that might render it injurious to health. First to provoke a crisis was sulphur dioxide, used widely in the production of dried fruit, sugar, sirup, molasses, and wine. Food Inspection Decision 76, approved in June, 1907, by the three secretaries, promised that pending investigation, no prosecutions would be instituted if the total amount of sulphur dioxide in food products did not exceed 350 milligrams per kilogram and labels indicated its presence. Even prior to the ruling, protests came from California, where fumes of burning sulphur were used by the fruit-drying industry as a bleach and preservative. Though the Department of Agriculture granted a hearing, California political and trade leaders did not permit President Roosevelt to remain unaware of their concern.²⁰ When the President inquired of the department, he received a statement, drafted by Solicitor McCabe, which held that the government "has gone as far as is consistent with the upholding

¹⁷ Congressmen were enlisted to write letters of protest to Roosevelt. The Iowa Grain Dealers' Association sent resolutions attacking the government's position to the President, to Secretary Wilson, and to Iowa congressmen. Senator William J. Stone protested at the instance of St. Louis manufacturers, while one correspondent wrote in behalf of the "Newspaper Publishers of the United States."

¹⁸ A full record of the correspondence, resolutions, briefs, and hearings on the glucose question is printed in "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," pp. 1143-1421.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 890.

²⁰ See collection of telegrams in Correspondence of the Secretary, Sulphur. The limit was based on studies of California fruits and on Wiley's belief that it need not be exceeded if care were exercised in sulphuring.

of the Pure Food Law." Roosevelt thought this report "absolutely conclusive,"²¹ but the fruit interests were far from satisfied. The decision, which specified a limit on sulphur below the amount used the previous season, troubled both grower and packer by raising doubts as to the validity of their contracts. Besides, labels already had been purchased which did not conform to the new requirements.²² Meanwhile Secretary Wilson was touring the West. When he arrived in California early in August, he gave the fruit men a hearing. Impressed by the magnitude of the interests involved, he promised a thorough investigation. While awaiting its outcome, he pledged immunity from prosecution. Thus Wilson made the decision not to prosecute; Roosevelt concurred.²³

The next storm center was benzoate of soda, a preservative used most extensively in catsup. Wiley long had believed it injurious, for by the metabolic processes it was converted to hippuric acid, the elimination of which, he reasoned, placed an added burden on the excretive organs. This burden, moreover, was unnecessary, for proper sterilization in preparation and due care in use of products were sufficient to end danger from spoilage.²⁴ Though Food Inspection Decision 76 had promised no prosecutions against goods packed during the 1907 season which contained this preservative provided that the quantity did not exceed one tenth of one per cent, that it hitherto had been in general use, and that labels noted its addition, food manufacturers who depended on benzoate knew full well the chief chemist's position and worried about 1908. In November, 1907, the Board of Food and Drug Inspection granted them a hearing at which it was argued that no one ever had been hurt by eating the preservative and that experts disagreed on its wholesomeness. Spoilage was a far greater danger to health than the chemicals used to prevent it. Should benzoate be banned, it was charged, the entire trade would be thrown into the hands of two or three houses that managed to get along without it.²⁵ The protestants, however, did not pin their hopes entirely on

²¹ W. M. Hays to Roosevelt, July 24, 1907 (copy), and W. Loeb, Jr., to Hays, July 25, 1907, *ibid.*

²² If the grower sulphured very lightly, his fruit might be rejected by the packer on grounds that it did not have the color stipulated in the contract. If he sulphured too heavily, the packer might refuse to accept because it was over the allowable maximum. The packer faced a similar problem. Whether he observed the limit or not, the eastern buyer had an excuse—very convenient in a falling market—for rejecting his shipment. P. Hersey and H. Cahen to G. C. Perkins, Aug. 13, 1907, A. M. Ashley to J. Wilson, Sept. 3, 1907, and R. A. Gould, "Experiments on the Drying and Sulphuring of the Deciduous Fruits of California," *ibid.*

²³ "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *House Report*, 62 Cong., 2 sess., no. 249 (Jan. 22, 1912), p. 5; Roosevelt to Wilson, Aug. 17, 1907, RP, Personal Letter Books.

²⁴ "Pure Food," Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, H.R. [Hearings, Feb. 13–27, 1906], pp. 242–44.

²⁵ FDA Records, Records of the Board of Food and Drug Inspection, Hearing No. 59, Nov. 4, 1907. Wiley saw that the hearing was attended not only by the complainants but also by the

convincing the board; by January they had succeeded in rousing the active interest of the President.

Roosevelt's attention also had been directed to saccharin, which in addition to its use by diabetics was employed as a substitute for sugar in canned goods, particularly corn. Since it was a cheap imitation of cane sugar, Dr. Wiley considered its use a deception. It was indigestible, devoid of food value, and its excretion tended to break down the kidneys and induce disease.²⁶ In the opinion of McCabe and Dunlap the weight of authority indicated that saccharin was harmless. Until there should be authoritative determination, they believed that saccharin should be permitted in foods provided its presence was declared on the label and its use was not intended to conceal inferiority.²⁷

As Roosevelt faced 1908 it was apparent that some action on the question of added substances—sulphur dioxide, benzoate of soda, and saccharin—would have to be taken before the start of another growing season. To complicate matters, the President was losing confidence in Wiley as a guide in scientific matters. The frequent protests indicated that something, at least, was to be said on the other side. Wiley himself felt that his fall from presidential grace occurred when at a White House conference he told T.R. that saccharin was injurious. Roosevelt turned on him and hissed angrily through his teeth, "Anybody who says saccharin is injurious is an idiot. Dr. Rixey gives it to me every day."²⁸ Why not create a panel of eminent scientists to determine whether or not the substances added to foods had a deleterious effect on the human organism? Sometime early in January the President settled on this. Such a step was characteristic of his approach to problems of administration, but the suggestion came from the catsup makers. Roosevelt acted quickly. On February 24 a five-man Referee Board of Consulting Scientific Experts, headed by President Ira Remsen of Johns Hopkins, was created.²⁹ Soon it was asked to rule on sulphur dioxide, benzoate of soda, and saccharin. Did these substances render food injurious to health? Did they reduce, lower, or injuriously affect the quality and strength of food? Meanwhile, provided that labels stated plainly the fact, benzoate might continue to be used in quantities

anti-benzoate forces in the industry. A representative of the H. J. Heinz Company described the experience of his firm and insisted that no preservative was needed for bottled catsup if the best materials, methods, and sanitation were employed.

²⁶ Wiley to McCabe, Jan. 13, 1908, Correspondence of the Solicitor.

²⁷ McCabe to Roosevelt, Jan. 14, 1908, *ibid.*

²⁸ "Why I Support Wilson and Marshall."

²⁹ McCabe to Roosevelt, Jan. 14, 1908, McCabe to J. B. Reynolds, Oct. 22, 1909, Correspondence of the Solicitor; Roosevelt to Remsen, Jan. 16, 1908, *Letters*, VI, 908-909; "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 254-56; Wilson, Special Order, Feb. 24, 1908, *ibid.*, p. 425. In addition to Remsen the board included Professors R. H. Chittenden of Yale, C. A. Herter of Columbia, J. H. Long of Northwestern, and A. E. Taylor of California.

not exceeding one tenth of one per cent, and no objection would be made to foods that contained the "ordinary quantities" of sulphur dioxide.³⁰

But food law troubles seemed irrepressible. Soon the whisky question came again to the fore. To test the validity of the government's position, several libels were brought in 1908 for the seizure and condemnation of allegedly misbranded liquor. All of these proceedings were decided in favor of the United States, as were several efforts to enjoin the government from enforcing its labeling requirements. Yet the rectifiers did not despair. In December Roosevelt was induced to ask John G. Capers, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to hear their arguments, to confer with Wilson and Dunlap in Agriculture, and to report. The outcome was a Dunlap memorandum recommending that neutral spirits not be required to bear the "imitation" label, but instead be branded as "neutral," "redistilled," or "rectified whisky." Attorney General Bonaparte, asked by T.R. to comment, denounced the Dunlap suggestions. His original opinion, he observed, had survived at least four tests in court. Final determination should be left to the court of last resort.³¹ The President, now under heavy pressure from straight whisky men and reformers, accepted the Bonaparte stand as "conclusive" and refused to interfere.³²

Then there was the attack, disturbing in an election year, on the administration of the food law at the Mackinac Island meeting of the Association of State and National Food and Dairy Departments. Edwin Fremont Ladd, president of the association, criticized Secretary Wilson for refusing to cooperate in food standards work and for creating at the behest of interested manufacturers the Referee Board, while the convention itself formally regretted Wilson's stand and voiced its opposition to chemical preservatives. Though Wiley tried to prevent Ladd from attacking the Secretary, he failed to defend his chief before the delegates. Wilson was resentful, and the rumor was persistent he would ask Wiley to resign.³³

Benzoate of soda would not down. Since the Referee Board was investigating its wholesomeness, Secretary Wilson forbade publication of Wiley's report on his benzoate feeding experiments, which found the preservative injurious to digestion and health. A misunderstanding occurred, however,

³⁰ Food Inspection Decision 89. Later the board was asked about copper salts and aluminum compounds.

³¹ Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Dec. 16, 1908; Bonaparte to Roosevelt, Feb. 19, 1909 (copy), Correspondence of the Secretary, Liquors.

³² Telegrams to Roosevelt, and H. B. Needham to Roosevelt, Feb. 22, 1909, *ibid.*; Roosevelt to Wilson, Feb. 23, 1909, RP, Personal Letter Books.

³³ "Report of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Association of State and National Food and Dairy Departments," *American Food Journal*, III (Aug. 15, 1908), 1-12; "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 435-36; E. F. Ladd to Wiley, Aug. 13, 1908, WP, General Correspondence; J. Q. Emery, A. C. Bird, and E. F. Ladd to Roosevelt, Oct. 15, 1908, Correspondence of the Secretary, Food Laws.

and the report was printed,³⁴ creating the false impression that the government had banned the chemical. When a reassuring food inspection decision was proposed, Wiley refused to sign, and the decision as issued became evidence of the split among the Board of Food and Drug Inspection.³⁵ As 1908 drew to a close, rumors spread that Wiley was about to be ousted, but at the White House Presidential Secretary Loeb insisted he knew nothing of serious disagreement nor of an impending dismissal.³⁶ Then late in January the Referee Board reported on benzoate, giving it what amounted to a clean bill of health.³⁷ In Congress the reaction was prompt. Senator Heyburn of Idaho, who had sponsored the pure-food bill, rose to insist that the Referee Board had been assigned a function which the framers of the law intended to remain the province of the courts. Over in the House, Representative Lever of South Carolina led an abortive effort to amend the agricultural appropriation bill so as to abolish the board, which, it was asserted, was an illegal attempt to emasculate the pure-food law and to check Wiley by indirection.³⁸ The conclusions of the Remsen group were, of course, a severe blow to those who had led the fight against the preservative. Wiley felt the scientists had missed the spirit of the law, which had been intended to safeguard the consumer. When the Referee Board ruled in favor of a preservative, the issue, though it might be unresolved in the minds of other experts, could not be fought out in the courts as Congress intended. Would not the finding that the chemical was harmless lead to its general use in milk and other foods?³⁹ Wiley's indignation was shared by those food manufacturers who did not use preservatives. Remsen and his associates had answered certain narrowly defined questions, but had ignored, they charged, the fact that the use of benzoate permitted their competitors to process inferior materials and to employ unsanitary

³⁴ For a brief summary see U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Chemistry, *Circular No. 39* (Washington, 1908).

³⁵ Wiley to Board of Food and Drug Inspection, Dec. 18, 1908, Records of the Board of F & D Inspection, Benzoate of Soda; Food Inspection Decision 101.

³⁶ *Washington Post*, Dec. 29, 1908. A few days later T.R. wrote, "The trouble with Dr. Wiley is, that to my personal knowledge, he has been guilty of such grave errors of judgment in matters of such great importance as to make it quite impossible to accept his say-so in a matter without a very uneasy feeling that I may be doing far-reaching harm to worse than no purpose. . . . On the other hand, I have such confidence in his integrity and zeal that I am anxious to back him up to the limit of my power wherever I can be sure that doing so won't do damage instead of good." Roosevelt to H. H. Rusby, Jan. 7, 1909, *Letters*, VI, 1467-68.

³⁷ "The Influence of Sodium Benzoate on the Nutrition and Health of Man," enclosure to letter, Remsen to Wilson, Jan. 23, 1909, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 328-29. In the only other report of its work published before Wiley left the government the Referee Board found that the long-continued use of saccharin in quantities over three tenths of a gram daily was liable to impair digestion and that the substitution of saccharin for sugar in foods lowered their quality.

³⁸ *Cong. Record*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1360, 1883, 2152-54, 2158-60.

³⁹ Wiley to R. D. Townsend, Jan. 28, 1909, and Wiley to J. M. Chapman, Jan. 29, 1909, WP, General Correspondence.

methods. At the instance of the Heinz Company Lyman and Lawrence Abbott brought this claim to the attention of the President. Roosevelt asked Remsen about it, but the Johns Hopkins scientist supposed poor materials and sanitation could be dealt with entirely apart from the preservative question.⁴⁰ This, apparently, was Roosevelt's view, and on his last full day in office a food inspection decision was issued announcing that no objection would be raised to benzoate of soda provided that each package of food was labeled to indicate both presence and amount.⁴¹

William Howard Taft faced a difficult situation from the beginning. Roosevelt, thought the whisky blenders, had interpreted the law unfairly, while in the view of anti-preservative forces he had undermined it by his sensitivity to complaints of the interests. Taft proposed to enforce the law fully and fairly, but he knew it was no simple task. "... I expect," he wrote, "to give Dr. Wiley the reasonable and just support he is entitled to have. But when I feel that he has done an injustice I expect to differ with him even at the expense of having my motives questioned."⁴²

The whisky blenders lost no time. Their appeal for a rehearing led Taft to direct Solicitor General Lloyd W. Bowers to take testimony and report on a number of questions that went to the heart of the controversy. Late in May Bowers announced his conclusion that neutral spirits colored and flavored should not be called whisky, but he conceded that a mixture of neutral spirits and straight whisky might bear the coveted label provided the proportion of neutral spirits was not so high that it robbed the mixture of the by-products that gave whisky its character. Neither the straight whisky men nor the blenders were satisfied, and late in June Taft was prevailed upon to hear arguments at the White House. Finally in December he announced his conclusion that despite the varied methods of manufacture, all potable liquor distilled from grain long had been known in the trade and among consumers as whisky. The practice of palming off one kind of whisky as another might be

⁴⁰ C. F. Loudon to Wiley, Feb. 11, 1909, WP, General Correspondence; L. A. Abbott to Roosevelt, Feb. 1, 1909, and Remsen to Roosevelt, Feb. 5, 1909, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 330-31. Wiley supplied the Heinz agent with material to use in establishing a case with the Abbotts. L. S. Dow to Wiley, Feb. 2, 1909, WP, General Correspondence. The most judicious statement on the merits of this charge is the testimony of A. W. Bitting before a master appointed by the Circuit Court of the U. S. for the District of Indiana in *Williams Brothers Company et al., v. Harry E. Barnard et al.*, No. 10,894, Chancery, III, 2625-27, 2631-39, 2641, 2654-56. Bound volumes of this testimony are filed with the Wiley Papers in the Library of Congress.

⁴¹ Food Inspection Decision 104.

⁴² Taft to H. D. Ward, Mar. 24, 1909, TP, Letterpress Books, Pres. Dr. Wiley hoped the new President would administer the law as Congress intended. "The principle that the right of the consumer is the first thing to be considered would be worth more to this country than the actual protection to health or the freedom from fraud." Wiley, MS prepared for *Christian Herald*, "What is the Most Important Task before the New Administration under President Taft?" WP, Food & Drug Laws.

corrected by labels such as "whisky made from neutral spirits" or "blend of straight whisky and whisky made from neutral spirits."⁴³ There was much to be said for the common sense of the presidential opinion, but some felt that Taft had intervened to extricate litigants already defeated in the courts. Nor were the rectifiers pleased; they did not like the labels suggested. Pressure was brought to bear, and the three secretaries in Food Inspection Decision 113 of February, 1910, permitted neutral spirits distilled from grain to be labeled whisky without qualification.⁴⁴

The inherited uproar over benzoate of soda continued. It was difficult to quiet, for to Wiley and many others the Referee Board's finding had made benzoate the symbol of a fundamental issue: was the law to be interpreted for the protection of the consumer or for the benefit of the manufacturer? Furthermore, the food industry was split in its views on the necessity and desirability of the preservative. Markets and even survival seemed to depend on the status accorded it.

These differences were dramatized by the meeting of the Association of State and National Food and Dairy Departments at Denver late in August, 1909. Secretary Wilson, still bitterly resentful of the attack made on him at Mackinac, determined that his point of view should be represented. He arranged to have the Referee Board attend, and he went himself at the head of the Department of Agriculture delegation. After a full-scale debate and the employment of pressure tactics, the association by a narrow margin endorsed the Referee Board report and in an even closer contest elected as president a candidate supported by Secretary Wilson over one backed by Wiley's cohorts. The proceedings, covered fully by the press, made the conclusions of the Referee Board no more palatable.⁴⁵

Nor were those conclusions popularized by the course Wilson pursued in the Indiana benzoate case. Two catsup manufacturers who depended on preservatives asked the United States Court for the District of Indiana to restrain the Indiana food and drug commissioner from enforcing a state ban on

⁴³ U. S. Dept. of Justice, *Report of the Solicitor-General to the President upon Certain Questions Submitted to Him concerning the Meaning of the Term "Whisky"* (Washington, 1909); U. S. President, *Pure Food Act. What is the Meaning of the Term "Whisky" under the Pure Food Act . . . ?* (Washington, 1909).

⁴⁴ Justice Harlan asked Wiley, "What is this I hear about holding Supreme Court in the White House?" Wiley, *History of a Crime against the Food Law*, p. 152. The three secretaries apparently were influenced by the argument that the suggested labels were inconsistent with the main point of the President's opinion. Brief, W. M. Hough to J. Wilson, Jan. 21, 1910, and Report, R. E. Cabell, G. P. McCabe, and C. Early to F. MacVeagh, J. Wilson, and C. Nagel, Jan. 22, 1910, Correspondence of the Solicitor.

⁴⁵ "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 262-63, 352, 509-12, 554, 639-41, 804-805, 813-14, 871-72, and "Report of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Association of State and National Food and Dairy Departments . . .," *American Food Journal*, IV (Sept. 15, 1909), 1-51, 57-95, (Oct. 15, 1909), 1-14.

benzoate of soda. The judge denied a temporary injunction, but the issues of a permanent injunction and of constitutionality were referred to a master in chancery. When counsel for the complainants sought to have the Referee Board bear witness to the harmlessness of the preservative, Wilson sent three members to Indianapolis at government expense. But when Indiana sought anti-benzoate testimony from Bureau of Chemistry personnel, it encountered determined opposition. Secretary Wilson tried to defend administration policy, but he succeeded only in convincing many that protecting the interests concerned him more than safeguarding the nation's food supply.⁴⁶

While whisky and benzoate absorbed the spotlight, behind the scenes bitter wrangling disrupted the deliberations of the Board of Food and Drug Inspection. With but a few exceptions differences of opinion featured McCabe and Dunlap uniting to overrule Wiley.⁴⁷ What cases should be prosecuted? This was the basic issue. Opportunities for dissension abounded. There was, for example, the three-months rule by which cases were placed in abeyance when more than ninety days elapsed without valid explanation between taking a sample and reporting its analysis. This Wiley opposed, for he felt it frequently resulted in excusing violations that should have been prosecuted.⁴⁸ He considered his associates too lenient in letting off offenders who pleaded an honest mistake.⁴⁹ He questioned the wisdom of excusing violations until a test case was decided.⁵⁰ He tried to persuade McCabe and Dunlap to forbid the use of alum until the Referee Board reported on it, even though this would have put the government in the position of trying to prove harmfulness while it was still under investigation.⁵¹ But most disagreement developed over alleged misbranding. Some of these disputes involved nothing fundamental,⁵² but others were more basic in their implications. If, for example, a

⁴⁶ This story may be followed in "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, especially pp. 275, 283, 354, 367-68, 436-38, 515-16, 534-35, 539, 541-45, 548, 708-709, 684-89, 718, 720, 806, 824, 880-82. Wilson refused to send Wiley to Indianapolis to testify because he feared that a deliberate plot was afoot to create the impression that the administration was not backing up the Referee Board. Wilson to Taft, May 12, 1910, Correspondence of the Secretary, Letters Sent. The master recommended that the complainants' bill be dismissed, for he found it not an established fact in the scientific world that benzoate, even in limited quantities, was harmless. The judge followed this recommendation and was upheld in the Circuit Court of Appeals. The issue was not fought out in the Supreme Court, for in 1915 both parties agreed to a stipulation to dismiss. *Curtice Bros. Co. v. Barnard et al.*, 209 Federal 589 and 241 U. S. 686.

⁴⁷ See tabulated statement in Correspondence of the Secretary, Wiley Investigations. In about one third of the cases there was no disagreement.

⁴⁸ Numerous exchanges took place on this matter. Wiley explained his opposition clearly in memorandums for the board, July 7, 1909 (copy), WP, Food and Drug Inspection Board—I.S. 12000-12999, and Aug. 4, 1909 (copy), WP, F & D Inspection Board: I.S. Memo File. McCabe sometimes was willing to waive the three-months rule. G.P.M., Note on I.S. No. 12532-a, Aug. 4, 1909 (copy), WP, F & D Inspection Board—I.S. 12000-12999.

⁴⁹ Wiley to Board, Mar. 7, 1910, WP, F & D Inspection Board—I.S. 14000-14999.

⁵⁰ Wiley to Board, July 2, 1909 (copy), WP, General Correspondence.

⁵¹ Dunlap to J. Wilson, Jan. 24, 1910, Records of the Board of F & D Inspection, Alum.

⁵² The solicitor would refuse to proceed with a weak case, one that he felt made the government look ridiculous, or one that was trivial.

shipment was labeled "Boneless Cod Strips," Wiley believed it was misbranded unless the fish were entirely free of bones. It made no difference that in the trade the label had long meant merely fish from which the backbone but not the small bones had been removed. If a product bearing the label "Arrow Root Biscuit" contained only fifteen per cent of arrowroot starch, it was misbranded. Except for salt and shortening the biscuit should be entirely of arrowroot. When the board took a position which Wiley thought permitted ordinary flour to be sold as gluten flour of fractional strength, he was disturbed. It was not only dishonest but it endangered diabetics who used such flour to restrict their starch intake.⁵³

These disagreements were the reflections of basic differences in approach. McCabe and Dunlap believed the law should be enforced, but they lacked Wiley's crusading zeal. Their approach, moreover, was conditioned by McCabe's professional background. A lawyer, he wanted cases that could be won, and he was contemptuous of what he considered the legal ignorance in the recommendations of the Bureau of Chemistry. Both the solicitor and the associate chemist in time lost their sense of detachment, indulged in the most insulting of comments, and were inclined to oppose automatically almost any stand taken by their antagonist. Wiley in contrast believed in the militant, even radical administration of the law in the interest of the consumer. When he made such an issue of misbranding it was because he believed that intent to deceive presented a moral issue. If he frequently seemed inflexible it was because he feared concession to one industry would force him to yield all along the line. With McCabe's legalistic approach he had little patience. Confident in his own judgment, he wanted to get violations into court; given a chance, he was sure, he could persuade judge and jury. His was a trying position; yet despite emotional involvement, despite inner bitterness, he kept his temper better than his opponents.⁵⁴

⁵³ McCabe to Board, Oct. 15, 1909 (copy), Wiley to Board, Oct. 19, 1909, Wiley to Board, Mar. 29, 1909 (copy), and McCabe to Board, Apr. 1, 1909 (copy), WP, General Correspondence. The correspondence on gluten flour is printed in "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 1120-25. Some of the bickering involved drugs. For example, Wiley wanted to prosecute a case on grounds which McCabe believed legally unsound. Wiley to Board, Sept. 24, 1909, Dunlap to McCabe, Sept. 29, 1909 (copy), McCabe to Dunlap, Oct. 4, 1909 (copy), and Wiley to Board, Oct. 13, 1909, WP, General Correspondence. Though Wiley was a foe of nostrums, he concentrated the bureau's efforts on food violations. McCabe attacked this policy in terms that compel belief that his purpose in part, at least, was to embarrass the chief chemist. McCabe to Wiley, Jan. 29, June 24, and Sept. 6, 1910, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 463-73, 990-98. In 1911 Dunlap and McCabe persuaded Secretary Wilson to forbid expenditure of any Bureau of Chemistry funds for work in connection with the revision of the U. S. Pharmacopoeia. This Wiley resented as a restriction on work related closely to enforcement of the law. *Ibid.*, pp. 559-63, 627-29, 831-32, 887-88. Though these conflicts added to the bitterness of the quarrel in the Department of Agriculture, it was the disputes over food issues that were central, that became political liabilities for Roosevelt and Taft.

⁵⁴ Miss Anne L. Pierce, Mr. Fred B. Linton, and Dr. Paul B. Dunbar, who were associates of Dr. Wiley in the Bureau of Chemistry, have helped the writer understand the differences that prevailed among the members of the board.

Early in June, 1910, Secretary Wilson issued General Order 140, which transferred to the solicitor most of the power of the Board of Food and Drug Inspection. The Bureau of Chemistry now was to submit the results of its examinations to McCabe, not the board, for recommendation to Wilson whether or not citations for hearings should be issued. The board was to continue to supervise hearings, but the recommendation to prosecute or not was to be made by the solicitor. More than ever Wiley was convinced that the intent of Congress had been flaunted, that the Bureau of Chemistry had been denied its legal role, and that the minions of the food-dopers were in control.⁵⁵

Out of this tension came charges against Wiley which fanned to bright flame the smoldering quarrel. Dr. Henry H. Rusby, an expert employed at the legal maximum of \$9 a day to examine crude drugs imported at New York, had testified for the government in an enforcement case. His request to be paid \$50 for each day in court Solicitor McCabe denied. Rusby was reluctant to testify again at the \$9 rate, but the Bureau of Chemistry was anxious to have him appear in impending cases. A way seemed open when it was learned that the Referee Board scientists, though they did not give all their time to the government, were paid an annual salary. Why not hire Rusby on a similar basis? So Wiley recommended to Wilson that he be appointed pharmacognosist at \$1,600 a year, and the Secretary approved. Then in March, 1911, while Wiley was out of town, Dunlap, serving as acting chief, obtained from the bureau files the correspondence on the Rusby appointment. After conferring with McCabe and Wilson, he prepared a memorandum for the Secretary which called attention to passages that suggested irregularities. Dunlap, circumstances compel one to believe, felt he had something that might be used against Wiley. He did not seek explanation from anyone in the Bureau of Chemistry before he submitted the memorandum; he tried to keep it secret by having it typed in another office; he did not tell the Secretary the whole truth.⁵⁶

Wilson referred the matter to the department's committee on personnel, one of whose three members was Solicitor McCabe. On April 20 the commit-

⁵⁵ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, General Order No. 140, June 9, 1910 (photostat), FDA Records, Agitation for Pure Food Bill; McCabe to Wiley, June 30, 1910 (copy), WP, General Correspondence. G.O. 140 was based on a clause in an act appropriating funds for the Department of Agriculture which specified that all legal matters should be in the hands of the solicitor. Wiley believed this clause a joker inspired by McCabe to contain him. Wiley to C. F. Scott, Oct. 21, 1911, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ As acting chief, Dunlap had transmitted the new appointment to Rusby and had received from him a letter asking permission to postpone a final decision until he could get more information. Though Dunlap did call Wilson's attention to this letter, his memorandum to the Secretary conveyed the impression that the Rusby appointment was something he had stumbled upon later. Dunlap to Wilson, Mar. 28, 1911, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 109-10. For light on Dunlap's actions prior to March 28 see *ibid.*, pp. 566-67, 569, 612, 621-22, 624, 646.

tee interrogated Rusby, Wiley, and two other Bureau of Chemistry officials who had done most of the negotiating with the drug expert. A few days later the committee reported that the contract for \$1,600 a year had been put on the record to cloak a secret agreement to compensate Rusby at \$20 *per diem* in deliberate defiance of the \$9 statutory limit. Rusby, it recommended, should be dismissed, and Wiley given the opportunity to resign.⁵⁷

Now James Wilson, no lawyer, dependent too much on McCabe, and exasperated by Wiley,⁵⁸ took the matter to cabinet meeting, said the law had been violated, and urged that Wiley immediately be dismissed. Attorney General Wickersham, who in Major Archie Butt's opinion had as much political judgment as an ox, volunteered to review the case from a legal standpoint and on May 13 advised that the President approve the recommendation of the committee on personnel. The agreement it had discovered, he said, "certainly merits condign punishment. . . ."⁵⁹ For almost two months Taft failed to act, but on July 7 he wrote Wilson and instructed that Wiley and the others be shown the Attorney General's conclusions and be given a chance to make a final statement. They had not, he felt, had opportunity to make a full defense.⁶⁰

When Wiley learned of Wickersham's recommendation, he sensed at once that he had a chance to lay bare what he considered the conspiracy against him. "We need no defense," he told his chief clerk; "I am planning an attack."⁶¹ A few mornings later the *New York Times* broke the news, com-

⁵⁷ "Hearing before the Committee on Personnel, April 20, 1911," *ibid.*, pp. 163-75; "Report of Committee on Personnel . . .," May 2, 1911, *ibid.*, 175-79; W. M. Hays, G. P. McCabe, and C. C. Clark to Wilson, May 3, 1911, *ibid.*, p. 179. The other officials were Dr. L. F. Kebler, chief of the drug laboratory, and Dr. W. D. Bigelow, assistant chief of the bureau. The committee recommended that Kebler be demoted and Bigelow permitted to resign. The evidence brought out in the various hearings on this matter indicates that the heart of the difficulty was misunderstanding as to what service the government was entitled by the new Rusby contract. Rusby felt that the basis of compensation was \$20 a day, and that he should not be required to work for more than eighty days, though he would serve more if asked. Bigelow thought in terms of \$9 for the examination of samples and \$50 for court work, regarding the \$20 figure as the probable average of the two and the maximum Rusby should receive. Wiley knew that Rusby valued his services at \$20, but, so far as he was concerned, the appointment called for the drug expert to perform all the work the bureau might have for him—testimony in court as well as examination of samples—at a fixed annual salary. Though the committee mentioned no charges, the principals were furnished with a written record of the hearing and given opportunity to submit statements.

⁵⁸ Later Wilson complained in writing that Wiley long had been insubordinate. Wilson to Taft, received at White House Aug. 2, 1911, TP, Pres. Series No. 2.

⁵⁹ Taft and Roosevelt, II, 696, 698-99; Wickersham to Taft, May 13, 1911, USDA General Records, Personnel Records, H. W. Wiley.

⁶⁰ Taft to Wilson, July 7, 1911, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, p. 183; Taft to Wilson, Sept. 14, 1911, TP, Letterpress Books, Pres. Major Butt thought Taft at first had been inclined to stand by the Wickersham recommendation and let Wiley go, but that he was persuaded by Senator W. Murray Crane to go slow. Taft and Roosevelt, II, 696.

⁶¹ F. B. Linton, "Federal Food and Drug Laws—Leaders Who Achieved Their Enactment and Enforcement," *Food Drug Cosmetic Law Quarterly*, December, 1949, p. 467. "We have got them no matter what happens to me. The lid is off and the whole damnable conspiracy will come to the surface." Wiley to R. M. Allen, July 20, 1911, WP, General Correspondence.

plete with documents it had obtained from Rusby. Before the week was out the nation knew that Wiley's tenure was threatened. The press generally came to his support.⁶² Resolutions and letters rained down on Taft, Wilson, and members of Congress. Especially significant were those from loyal Republicans who emphasized the esteem in which the public held Wiley. Taft's candidacy and the success of the G.O.P. in 1912, they warned, were at stake.⁶³

Against this backdrop of protest Wiley put the finishing touches on his statement for Taft. He had been condemned, he wrote, by star-chamber methods. He had never received one of the letters from Rusby that had been used against him. He had been influenced by the Referee Board precedent and had explained the arrangement to the Secretary. This reply Wilson forwarded to Taft.⁶⁴ Now the Secretary was unwilling to support the recommendation of the committee on personnel. The fault, he felt, was principally Rusby's interest in more money. Admonition and reprimand would be sufficient punishment.⁶⁵

The uproar shook the administration. From Chicago Attorney General Wickersham wrote his chief to lament that he had not advised a lighter penalty. It would be a mistake, he felt, to remove Wiley and have all the worriment of another Pinchot affair.⁶⁶ Taft now was thoroughly alert. Though he did not like Wiley, he saw that politically it was almost impossible to remove him. Through newsman Gus Karger he sought, apparently, to reassure the chemist. He had both McCabe and Wickersham report on precedents that the accused had cited in their defense. He followed closely the evidence developed by a House committee which under Chairman Ralph W. Moss of Indiana had begun a sweeping investigation, not of the Rusby appointment alone but also of the strife that had marked the enforcement of the law.⁶⁷ When the hearings were completed, Taft announced his decision to Secretary Wilson in a judicious statement that showed him at his best. The

⁶² *New York Times*, July 13, 17, 1911; *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, July 14, 1911; *New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, July 15, 1911; *Pittsburgh Post*, July 14, 1911; *Ohio State Journal*, July 20, 1911. See *Literary Digest*, XLIII (July 22, 1911), 127.

⁶³ A collection of letters and resolutions is in Correspondence of the Secretary, Wiley Investigations.

⁶⁴ Wiley to Wilson, July 18, 1911, WP, General Correspondence.

⁶⁵ Memorandum, filed in Personnel Records, H. W. Wiley. Though undated and unaddressed, it probably was written at this time.

⁶⁶ Wickersham to Taft, July 18, 1911, TP, Miscellany CF and PPF, 1908-13.

⁶⁷ *Taft and Roosevelt*, II, 699. See the cryptic exchange of notes between Wiley and James P. Hornaday, Washington correspondent of the *Indianapolis News*, WP, General Correspondence; Taft to Wilson, July 31, 1911, Taft to Wickersham, Aug. 3, 1911, TP, Letterpress Books, Pres.; and E. W. Higgins to C. D. Hilles, Aug. 22, 1911, TP, Pres. Series No. 2. The Moss Committee reported unanimously that the Rusby contract was of doubtful administrative wisdom and should be held invalid, but it found no evidence of conspiracy. "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *House Report*, p. 2. The other findings of the committee are discussed in subsequent footnotes.

method of paying the Referee Board he found a precedent that justified Wiley. It was doubtful legislative policy to impose such severe limits on *per diem* compensation of experts. He was concerned by the broader issues that had been brought out in the investigation by the Moss Committee. The general efficiency of the department was involved. Much more radical action, he warned, might be required.⁶⁸

The day that Taft exonerated Wiley he left the summer White House at Beverly for a thirteen-thousand-mile tour. As the presidential train sped westward, the verdict of the newspapers came in. Justice had been done, it was agreed, yet it was expected that the promised more radical action would materialize. What could this mean but reorganization and dismissal of those responsible for this latest unnecessary embarrassment of the administration?⁶⁹ Taft recognized the existence of an unhealthy situation in the Department of Agriculture, but he was unwilling to yield entirely to Wiley, for he had not been convinced that the chief chemist, apart from the Rusby incident, was right.⁷⁰ Yet the administration went far in an effort to satisfy him. On October 3 Wilson issued General Order 147, which replaced McCabe on the Board of Food and Drug Inspection with Roscoe E. Doolittle, head of the branch laboratory at New York. Now Wiley was in control, for Doolittle could be counted upon to follow his lead. The board, which for over a year had played only a minor role, henceforth was to determine whether citations for hearings should be issued and whether or not cases should be prosecuted. The solicitor was to do no more than prepare cases and transmit them to the Department of Justice. This was a material change, though the administration seems not to have received much credit for it.⁷¹

For some weeks after the October reorganization the atmosphere was more tranquil. Then early in 1912 controversy broke out again with a vengeance. One of the sore points was Wiley's effort to enforce the pure-food law against

⁶⁸ Taft also found Rusby not at fault, but Kebler and Bigelow, he concluded, had been "disingenuous" in construing the contract to satisfy Rusby and should be reprimanded. Taft eased Wickersham's embarrassment by pointing out that the Attorney General's opinion was based on only part of the evidence and doubtless would have been different had the whole record been before him. Taft to Wilson, Sept. 14, 1911, TP, Letterpress Books, Pres.

⁶⁹ Sept. 16, 1911, issues of *Los Angeles Tribune*, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *New York Journal of Commerce*, and *New York World*. The *Springfield Daily Republican*, Sept. 16, 1911, declared that "now is the psychological moment for making the administrative changes which the Wiley decision renders imperative and for impressing the people with the president's own vigor and promptness as a chief executive. The resignation of Secretary Wilson should be the first one demanded."

⁷⁰ Taft to McCabe, Jan. 24, 1913, TP, Letterpress Books.

⁷¹ Enclosure to letter, R. M. Reese to Wiley, Oct. 3, 1911, Records of the Bureau of Chemistry, General Correspondence. Just what part the Secretary would play was not clear in the order itself, but the *New York Herald*, Oct. 4, 1911, reported that, though Wilson expected to follow the guidance of the board, he still intended that its rulings be subject to his approval. The *New York Times* misinterpreted the order in its editorial of Oct. 5, 1911.

interstate commerce in spoiled or misgraded grain,⁷² but more explosive in consequences was a quarrel over baking powder. The newspapers of February 27 carried a story that over Dunlap's protest Wiley and Doolittle had voted to abate cases against cream-of-tartar baking powders in which lead had been found. Wiley, it was suggested, bitterly opposed to alum baking powders, was protecting their competitors. This unjustified assault on the chemist's integrity was particularly irritating, for a selection of the confidential memorandums of the board had been photostated and published. Dunlap must have been responsible.⁷³

Now it was almost certain that Wiley would resign under circumstances that would hurt the Republicans. On March 1 he spelled out for Wilson what amounted to an ultimatum in the form of suggestions, the most important of which was that Dunlap be removed.⁷⁴ His motives for contemplating resignation were mixed. The long years of controversy, the failure of the situation to improve significantly after the open warfare of 1911, the constant association with men he hated and who hated him—all were telling on him. Besides, at sixty-seven he was anxious to have more lucrative employment. He long had been content with his modest salary, but now his responsibilities were growing, for early in 1911 he had married a fair-haired suffragette half his age, and a child was expected in May. It was more, of course, than this. He could, he believed, serve better the pure-food cause when free of his responsibility as a government official, when free of the shackles of bureaucratic dis-

⁷² Wilson at first supported Wiley, but a few days later, after he had been visited by delegations from the trade, he announced that pending additional investigations there would be no seizures or prosecutions. This laid the administration open to the charge that it was putting political considerations ahead of enforcement of the law. Wiley memorandum, Mar. 8, 1912, and release, Daily and Trade News Bureau, Washington, D. C., Mar. 6, 1912 (photostat), WP, Grain; Wiley to R. H. McVicker, Mar. 10, 1912, WP, General Correspondence.

⁷³ Wiley had been sparring with McCabe over the meaning of an opinion of the Attorney General that until a key appellate-court decision was made, no prosecutions should be brought on account of the presence in foods of poisonous or deleterious substances not added as such but entering as an ingredient of one of the materials used in manufacture. He was, said Wiley, inclined to the view that it was the intent of the law to keep out of foods all poisonous added substances no matter in what form the addition was made. His vote in the lead matter Wiley explained by pointing out that the amount of lead found in the powder was very small, that investigations were under way, and that the manufacturers had been urged to discontinue using the lead tanks that had been the source of the trouble. Besides, he argued, he was following the opinion of the Attorney General. The baking-powder companies began at once to correct the situation. Wiley's successor as chief chemist also opposed prosecution of the lead cases. Wiley to Wilson, Feb. 16, 1912, to T. A. Beveridge, Feb. 29, 1912, to W. McMurtrie, Mar. 4, 1912, to K. L. Stoll, Mar. 20, 1912, WP, General Correspondence; Wiley to Wilson, Feb. 27, 1912, Dunlap to Board, Feb. 26, 1912 (copy), Dunlap to Wilson, Feb. 29, 1912 (copy), WP, F & D Inspection Board: I.S. Memo File; C. L. Alsberg to Solicitor, Aug. 7, 1913 (copy), Records of the Board of F & D Inspection, Arsenic and Lead; Washington *Evening Star*, Feb. 27, 1912; Washington *Post*, Feb. 27, 1912; Indianapolis *News*, Oct. 10, 1912.

⁷⁴ A law clerk from the office of the solicitor was to be detailed to the bureau to obviate the laborious correspondence necessary under the existing arrangement, and all communications from the bureau and board to the Secretary were to be direct. Wiley to Wilson, Mar. 2, 1912, WP, General Correspondence.

cipline. He was not giving up the fight but merely changing his base of operations to permit more effective action.⁷⁵

On the morning of March 15 Wiley called on Secretary Wilson to submit his resignation. For an hour the two men talked; Wilson regretted the chemist's decision, but would not remove his foes. A little later the Secretary broke the news at cabinet meeting. Taft at once asked a number of university presidents to suggest a successor. "I am," he said in a statement for reporters, "very sorry to lose Dr. Wiley, who has done a great work in initiating and enforcing the operation of the pure food law, and I would be very glad if he could continue in the service of the government."⁷⁶

Wiley's resignation proved decisive in turning the pure-food issue against the Republicans. The old warrior still hoped that in his absence the unworthy officials would be discharged, but Taft did not act.⁷⁷ A fighter through and through, Wiley could not sit idle. There was no alternative but to sally forth and break a lance for pure food, the right, and Wilson.

The basic question remains. Could Republican leadership have avoided this unsavory controversy? Could it have prevented the pure-food act, passed under Republican auspices, from becoming a weapon in the Democratic arsenal?

It must be conceded at once that the law almost inevitably bred trouble. For one thing, it was pioneering in character. It brought federal supervision, to which business was unaccustomed. It involved, moreover, an area in which both science and trade could differ honestly on matters of great complexity. More controversy than actually occurred would not have been surprising, especially in view of the failure of the act to detail how the initial decisions as to what constituted violations should be made. The statute might affirm that a food be adulterated if any substance were "mixed and packed with it so as to reduce or lower or injuriously affect its quality or strength," but what was normal quality and strength? Food was to be considered adulterated "if it contain any added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredient which may render such article injurious to health," but what specific ingredients were subject to the ban? An imitation was not to be sold under the name of the genuine article, but what was the real thing? The bill that passed the House authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to determine standards of food

⁷⁵ Wiley to H. E. Armstrong, Mar. 2, 1912, to M. Sullivan, Mar. 12, 1912, to J. H. Shepard, Mar. 26, 1912, to G. H. Studley, Mar. 29, 1912, to D. Wesson, June 28, 1912, and Wiley's statement for the press, released Mar. 15, 1912, WP, General Correspondence. Before the end of January Wiley had made a firm though not irrevocable commitment to resign and to accept an editorial position with *Good Housekeeping Magazine*. Wiley to W. C. Breed, Jan. 24, 1912, in possession of Mrs. Anna K. Wiley, Washington, D. C.

⁷⁶ New York Times, Mar. 16, 1912; Washington Post, Mar. 16, 1912.

⁷⁷ Wiley to H. W. Rose, June 10, 1912, TP, Pres. Series No. 2.

products and the wholesomeness of preservatives or other substances added to foods. To aid in reaching just decisions, he was authorized to call on the standards committees of the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists and of the Association of State Dairy and Food Departments and on such other experts as he deemed necessary. This provision, however, was dropped in the conference committee at the insistence of the Senate.⁷⁸ The same section of the House bill provided that the Secretary, upon request of an interested party, must appoint a board of disinterested experts to assist him in deciding on the wholesomeness of preservatives,⁷⁹ but this too was eliminated in conference. The law was enacted without these provisions, even though it was well known that sharp disagreement prevailed on such matters as whisky and benzoate. This made it easier, when administrative decisions affecting important interests were made, to hurl charges of arbitrary rule or undue sensitivity to business pressure.⁸⁰

Another difficulty was the assignment of responsibility for enforcement. It was of doubtful wisdom to place the burden in the Department of Agriculture, where regulation was likely to come in conflict with the agency's responsibility for the production and distribution of food.⁸¹ The law, however, permitted differences of opinion as to where lay the responsibility within the department. It could be argued that the Bureau of Chemistry was to act as a grand jury, to submit evidence of violations to the Secretary for transmittal to the district attorneys for prosecution. The hearings specified were to deter-

⁷⁸ Opposition in the Senate to the fixing of standards was strong. *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1217, 2655, 2663, 2724.

⁷⁹ Wiley frequently endorsed the idea of a board of experts during the fight for the law.

⁸⁰ For explanations of the action of the conference committee see P. J. McCumber's remarks in the Senate and J. R. Mann's comments in the House. *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 9496, 9738. For several years the agricultural appropriation acts in their sections headed "Bureau of Chemistry" had given the Secretary authority in collaboration with the AOAC and such other experts as he deemed necessary "to establish standards of purity for food products and to determine what are regarded as adulterations therein." The reference to standard fixing was dropped on a point of order from the appropriation act of June 30, 1906, while the act of March 4, 1907, omitted the entire provision. Senator McCumber in 1907 explained that he had no objection to the grant of authority to establish standards that had been included in the appropriation acts, for its intent had been to guide the Secretary in determining for the information of the public what was adulteration and what was injurious. What he opposed, McCumber said, was authorizing the Secretary to fix standards that would control the courts. This he believed the purpose of the section that had been proposed for inclusion in the pure-food act. *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong., 2 sess., p. 3643. For explanations that such was not the intent see *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 9002, 9070. The establishment of standards to control the courts—and to a much lesser extent standards which would not control—would have eased the work of prosecution. Without doubt much of the opposition to standard fixing was based on the objections of interests that would be affected by the law. The act of 1906 did adopt a standard for drugs—the U. S. Pharmacopoeia and the National Formulary. A useful statement of the administrative problems posed by the law is L. T. Hayes and F. J. Ruff, "The Administration of the Federal Food and Drugs Act," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, I (December, 1933), 16–35.

⁸¹ Yet the department's Bureau of Chemistry was a going concern, well qualified to handle the scientific problems involved in food and drug work. In 1906 there seemed to be no practical alternative.

mine the factual accuracy of the findings of the bureau; the courts were to make the ultimate decisions on what constituted misbranding and adulteration.⁸² On the other hand, it could be maintained that the pure-food law spoke to the Secretary, that he was not bound to be merely the agent of the bureau but was to decide himself what matters should be carried to the courts.⁸³ This confusion may have been due in part to the circumstances under which the law passed in the closing days of the session. The Senate version was not so clear on the role of the Secretary as the House bill with its section authorizing him to fix standards, to determine wholesomeness, and to acquire expert advice.⁸⁴ Did the House understand the significance of the change

⁸² See the undated, unsigned memorandum, undoubtedly written by Wiley, "Duties of Bureau of Chem. under Food & Drug Act of 1906," WP, Bureau of Chemistry; J. A. Fowler to G. W. Wickersham, Mar. 31, 1909, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, pp. 265-70; and the speech by Representative Lever on Feb. 3, 1909, in *Cong. Record*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., 1773-74. Support for this interpretation was to be found in the report of the Moss Committee. It viewed the duties of the Secretary of Agriculture as not judicial in character but wholly administrative and ministerial. When he granted hearings to parties from whom samples had been obtained, his duty was to decide whether or not the findings of the bureau were free from error. The committee admitted, however, that at the time the law took effect prosecution of every infraction was impossible because of the congestion in the courts that would have ensued. Though the composition of the Board of Food and Drug Inspection was unwise, the committee believed that its creation was a legitimate exercise of what authority the Secretary had under the act. It was of the opinion that among the cases abated were many in which the practice of the purveyor had been adjusted to the spirit of the law without recourse to the courts. This, it felt, did not defeat the purpose of the act. It disapproved, however, of General Order 140 as giving the Solicitor too much power over the administration of the law and of the Referee Board under its current status as a device that prevented important issues from being referred to the courts for the judicial decision intended by Congress. "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *House Report*, pp. 4-16.

⁸³ Wilson to C. F. Scott, Jan. 13, 1909, "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *Hearings*, p. 193; testimony of G. P. McCabe, *ibid.*, pp. 428-29, 480-82, 490; *Cong. Record*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1883-84, 2152, 2159-60. It is unlikely that the dispute over the roles of the Secretary and of the bureau would have arisen had not differences developed on substantive matters. According to the fifteenth of the rules and regulations adopted in October, 1906, which Wiley played the leading role in drafting, the Secretary of Agriculture was to determine the substances permitted or prohibited in foods and the principles to guide the use of preservatives, colors, and other added products. The authority given for this was the agricultural appropriation act. The findings of the Secretary, when approved by the Secretaries of the Treasury and of Commerce and Labor, were to become part of the enforcement regulations. In the next few weeks Wiley, confident that Wilson would follow his lead, wrote frequently that it was the Secretary of Agriculture who would rule on substances added to foods. Wiley to E. D. Pettengill Sons Co., Oct. 26, 1906, to J. Middleby, Jr., Oct. 29, 1906, to J. Waddell, Oct. 31, 1906, and to H. Schweitzer, Nov. 16, 1906, Records of the Bureau of Chemistry, Letters Sent. In July, 1912, Attorney General Wickersham gave an opinion to the effect that the three secretaries were restricted to making rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of the act and did not have authority to review findings of fact and reports made to the Secretary of Agriculture. In the case of an added substance, for example, this meant that the Secretary of Agriculture was simply to make a statement to the public that this addition was regarded as an adulteration and that he would report all such cases for prosecution. The prior practice of approval by all three secretaries was the result, Wickersham said, of misapprehension of the meaning of the statute. *Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States* . . . , XXIX, 494-97.

⁸⁴ The supporters of the law in the Senate emphasized consistently that the courts alone could determine whether an article was contraband under the provisions of the act, but they did not seem always to agree on the role of the Secretary of Agriculture. See the remarks of McCumber, *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1217, 1923, 2663, and those of Heyburn, *ibid.*, pp. 2653, 2721, 2733.

when it agreed to the conference report eliminating this section? Had the intent of Congress been expressed precisely, much of the bitterness of the next six years might not have occurred.

However the act might be construed, was it fortunate that so important a role in enforcement went to Wiley? Though in the first few years anyone worth his salt would have been assailed, the attack on Wiley was especially virulent, for he naturally had made enemies in his long fight for the law. Moreover, he had become a crusader. Both Roosevelt and Taft soon concluded that he was too prone to do injustice in his commendable zeal to protect the consumer. But Wiley was struggling with an eternal problem of the reformer. When should one compromise? When a fundamental issue was at stake, was it right to yield, even though the immediate circumstances might be comparatively insignificant? It is easy to conclude that Wiley the reformer should not have been made an administrator, yet is it not possible that the early years of the law required a truly militant enforcement official?

Might not more imaginative leadership have overcome these difficulties? Take the Referee Board. Part of the hostility against it was due not so much to a board of review as such but simply to the creation by executive fiat of an agency Congress had not specifically authorized. Had either President presented a convincing case, might not Congress have been induced to change the law? As it was, Congress refused to take action against the Remsen experts. Yet to ask for such an amendment would have risked a political storm. Besides, why should the executive seek authority for something it felt clearly within its prerogative?⁸⁵

Was it good leadership for Taft to retain James Wilson? The Secretary had made a good record in presiding over the rapidly expanding Department of Agriculture, but by 1909 his principal interest seemed to be the completion of four full terms in the cabinet. Wilson may be forgiven for being perplexed by the scientific questions that confronted him, but not for permitting the internecine strife that raged in his domain—or at least not for becoming party to it. Certainly he should have treated the Rusby appointment as the minor incident it was and have resolved the question himself. Taft lamented Wilson's incapacity and would have been pleased to see him go. Yet out of respect for Tama Jim's strength among farmers and quite likely out of hesitation to thwart his tenure ambitions, he did not ask him to leave.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ *Cong. Record*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., 1883, 2153-54. The Moss Committee concluded the Referee Board ought not to rest on executive order. "If such board be deemed necessary or advisable in the proper administration of the pure-food law, its authority should be expressly conferred, its scope and jurisdiction clearly defined, and the effect of its decisions declared, by act of Congress." "Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture," *House Report*, p. 17. Attorney General Wickersham's view of the legality of the board may be found in *Official Opinions*, XXVII, 300-308.

⁸⁶ Taft to H. H. Taft, July 26, 1911, TP, General Correspondence; Henry F. Pringle, *The*

The Wilson problem aside, would it not have been wise to support more effectively either Wiley or his opponents? If Wiley were not the man for the job, why not relieve him and make a bold defense? Wiley, however, had rendered great services that entitled him to considerate treatment, and both Roosevelt and Taft were acutely conscious of the political risks of such a course. If Wiley were to be retained, why not relieve McCabe and Dunlap? Though both Presidents were inclined to agree with them, their role in the Rusby affair was so reprehensible that the White House had ample justification. Certainly it was unwise to go as far as Taft did in the October reorganization and still retain Dunlap on the Board of Food and Drug Inspection. Even after Wiley resigned, the situation might have been salvaged had a few appropriate resignations promptly been arranged.⁸⁷

On laying this story aside, one is oppressed by a feeling that the difficulties and misunderstandings were almost predestined, that Roosevelt and Taft were caught in a web from which there was no escaping. Surely it was a tragedy for all concerned. It hurt Roosevelt by obscuring one of the real achievements of his administration; it saddled Taft with another of the burdens which made his presidential experience so unhappy; it embittered Wiley, whose declining years were clouded by a conviction that his life work had been undermined. Yet a half-century later a brighter view is justified. Despite the quarrels over benzoate, glucose, and the rest, much was accomplished to improve the quality of foods and the honesty with which they were represented.⁸⁸ Valuable scientific and administrative experience was acquired.⁸⁹ And it should not be forgotten that in the 1930's able public servants, recruited by Dr. Wiley in the days of the first Roosevelt, took the lead in a successful fight for a new and more effective pure food and drugs law.

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Life and Times of William Howard Taft (New York, 1939), II, 729-30. Earley V. Wilcox, *Tama Jim* (Boston, 1930), pp. 6-15, is a laudatory estimate of Wilson's work in presiding over the expansion of the Department of Agriculture.

⁸⁷ On Sept. 5, 1912, Dunlap resigned to accept a better-paying position with a Chicago chemical company. His departure may well not have been inspired by political considerations, but in any event it was too little, too late. *New York Times*, Sept. 6, 1912; *Washington Post*, Sept. 6, 1912.

⁸⁸ A convenient summary of accomplishments was published in the *New York Times*, July 23, 1911.

⁸⁹ P. B. Dunbar, "Its Administrative Progress," *New York State Bar Association, Section on Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Law, Historic Meeting to Commemorate Fortieth Anniversary of Original Federal Food and Drugs Act* (New York, 1946), pp. 54-57.

Aurelius Victor: Historian of Empire

CHESTER G. STARR

THE fourth century after Christ is one of the most interesting eras of ancient history, for during its course the world began to turn openly from ancient to medieval ways. Quite apart from the crucial position of the century, the complexity of its cross-currents must in themselves be highly attractive to the speculative historian. Nor is it a dark century. The greater Christian figures like Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, and others have left voluminous expositions of their ideas; we have the writings of such pagans as Symmachus and Ausonius; the edicts of the emperors have largely been preserved in the Theodosian Code, and the emperor Julian wrote abundantly. There is perhaps more first-hand and second-hand written evidence for this century than for any other of ancient history.

Yet the century has been curiously neglected by modern scholars. Some begin with the era but press rapidly on to things medieval; others are most interested in the classical centuries and come down regretfully, if at all, to this decadent age. More work is being done now than in the past, but much remains. The history of the city of Rome itself, for instance, has never been fully explored. The Theodosian Code presents a grim picture of imperial autocracy, which has often been sketched; that there were very real limits in practice to this autocracy still needs careful exposition. The intellectual history of the century has been presented most often as a *Kulturkampf* between pagan and Christian; but it is far more complicated and fascinating than this interpretation would suggest. While the greater men of the age have received a fair amount of attention, the minor figures have been almost completely ignored. One of these is the historian Sextus Aurelius Victor, a brief consideration of whose life and work may suggest the light which men of the second rank can throw on the currents of fourth-century thought.

I

Of the life of Aurelius Victor we know very little, and modern scholars have not been inclined to regret our lack of information. A native of North Africa, he served with success in the imperial bureaucracy, but we can see him at only two points in what must have been a fairly long career. In the year 361 the new emperor Julian made him governor of Pannonia Secunda

and also honored him with a bronze statue. Ammianus Marcellinus, who tells us this fact, terms him a "writer of history," praises his sobriety, and notes that he later became prefect of the city of Rome. Aurelius Victor probably held this most honorable post about 389; one surviving inscription attests that he had by this time become a *vir clarissimus*, a member of the official aristocracy.¹

For further insight into the man we must turn to his own history. The *Liber de Caesaribus* is a brief survey of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Constantius (337-361),² a sketch of about fifty pages which he completed in the year 360. This work perhaps had an immediate aim of demonstrating to the emperors his literary ability, and as such it was apparently successful; but Aurelius Victor gained little lasting reputation from the labor he imposed upon himself. Men of the Middle Ages regarded it so little that only two late manuscripts survive.³ The best modern edition we owe to the methodical efforts of the Teubner series, but to my knowledge his history has never been published in English.⁴ Nowadays Aurelius Victor turns up chiefly in footnotes as a minor source for events of the third and fourth centuries.

This disinterest is due partly to his brevity, more to the unfortunate circumstance that he lived in the fourth century, and most of all to his atrocious Latin style.⁵ Self-educated, Aurelius Victor tried seriously to write in a proper, educated style. As far as possible he followed classical usage, even embellishing his sentences with echoes of Sallust, for this late republican historian was much esteemed as a stylist.⁶ Men of the Late Empire, however, were separated by a great gulf from the era of Cicero and Sallust and were no longer able fully to follow the models of the past. To be learned now required that one

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus 21.10.6; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1186 (= Dessau 2945). The other ancient references (Jerome, *Epp.* 10.3; Joannes Lydus, *De Mag.* 3.7; Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* 2.18) give no further information.

² At the outset it must be emphasized that the work we have is the one which Aurelius Victor wrote, and not an epitome. So Alexander Enmann, "Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser und das Buch *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*," *Philologus*, Supp. IV (1884), 335-501, esp. 396-407; *contra*, Theodor Opitz, "Quaestionum de Sexto Aurelio Victore capitula," *Acta societatis philologiae Lipsiensis*, II (1872), 199-270; Eduard von Wölfflin, "Aurelius Victor," *Rheinisches Museum*, XXIX (1874), 282-308; and, a different approach, L. Jeep, "Aurelii Victoris de Caesaribus Historia e l'Epitome de Caesaribus," *Rivista di filologia*, I (1873), 505-18.

³ The popularity of late imperial historians in the Middle Ages is discussed by M. L. W. Laistner, "Some Reflections on Latin Historical Writing in the Fifth Century," *Classical Philology*, XXXV (1940), 241-58.

⁴ Beverly T. Moss submitted a translation as a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of North Carolina (1943); see also Alma N. Noble, "Indices verborum omnium quae in Sexti Aurelii Victoris libro de Caesaribus et incerti auctoris epitoma de Caesaribus reperiuntur" (dissertation, Ohio State, 1938).

⁵ "Aufgedunsen und überladen" in the judgment of Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, IV (2d ed.; Munich, 1914), 73.

⁶ Eduard von Wölfflin, "Zur Latinität der Epitome Caesarum," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, XII (1902), 445-53, and *Rheinisches Museum*, XXIX (1874), 285-93; Theodor Opitz, "Sallustius und Aurelius Victor," *Neue Jahrbücher*, CXXVII (1883), 217-22.

use an affected style with tortured word order, involved sentences, and artificial conceits; the humble pen of Aurelius Victor could produce no compensating flashes of wit or figures of speech.

A historian, however, is not to be judged purely as a stylist. The small handbook of Aurelius Victor is a product of the same spirit which led other men of the fourth century to compose a variety of sketches on earlier Roman history.⁷ Like most of these works his account is a succession of imperial biographies—and in view of the autocracy of the Empire the emphasis on personalities is quite logical—but unlike his fellow historians Aurelius Victor tried to integrate his biographies into a coherent history.⁸

In his choice of facts and above all in his generalizations Aurelius Victor demonstrates that he had brooded over the development of Roman history; and he expressed his personal views to a degree most uncommon in epitomes.⁹ Aurelius Victor was not a genius, but among the minor historians of the century he stands out as a man of unusual stamp. Two of the most interesting aspects of his thought are his picture of the development of the imperial system as an autocracy and his assertion that the Empire was justified primarily by its support of culture.

II

Aurelius Victor is a historian solely of the Empire. As we today look back on this epoch, we are inclined to view it favorably. On the great stage of the Roman Empire was enacted the political unification of the Mediterranean world as well as the expansion of classical civilization into many parts of Europe previously barbarian. The Early Empire, moreover, enjoyed two centuries of peace, order, and prosperity, and these aspects appeal powerfully to distressed modern minds. True, not all men who lived within the period itself appreciated these blessings; those who speak most clearly to us largely represent aristocratic opinion and often, as Tacitus, give a bitter picture of aristocratic sufferings at the hands of capricious absolutism. But scholars today tend to discount these muffled protests—civilization must progress, and we hearken rather to Virgil's famous phrase:

⁷ E.g., the *Breviarium* of Eutropius; the *Breviarium* of Festus; the anonymous *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*, *De origine gentis Romanae*, and *Epitome de Caesaribus* (which draws from Aurelius Victor in its earlier chapters); the extraordinary potpourri called the *Historia Augusta*. See Schanz, IV, 51–108.

⁸ Cf. the somewhat harsh but just estimate of his work, "eine neue Kreuzung von Historie und Biographie," by Friedrich Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 307.

⁹ This fact, often missed, was appreciated by Enmann, *Philologus*, Supp. IV (1884), 341, 399; Wölfflin, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXIX (1874), 284–85; Ernst Hohl, "Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus," *Klio*, XI (1911), 178–229, 284–324, esp. 209, 225.

Remember, Romans,
To rule the people under law, to establish
The way of peace, to battle down the haughty,
To spare the meek.¹⁰

When we turn to Aurelius Victor, we find that he expresses a view which is neither entirely ours nor quite like that of Tacitus. Let us begin, as Aurelius Victor does, with Augustus. The opening sentence of his book strikes a firm note: "In the 722d year of the city, there began at Rome the habit of obedience to one man." The most important fact about the Empire, then, was that it was an autocracy. In his second sentence the historian brings before us the founder of the Empire, called Augustus by the Senate for his clemency in the battle of factions, who charmed the soldiers by gifts, the people by his care of the food supply, and bent all others without difficulty. After this rather Tacitean, incisive beginning, which notes the three active elements in the Roman political structure, Aurelius Victor touches on the military achievements of Augustus; his support of learned men, "who were abundant"; his deification; and his general felicity, apart from family troubles. One sentence is enough to praise his general ways and to censure his luxuriousness, his delight in games, and his overindulgence in sleep.

The whole treatment of Augustus covers less than one page. In general tone it is quite similar to other fourth-century appreciations of the founder of the Roman Empire, but the account of Aurelius Victor is sharper, more distinct, than most. The *Epitome de Caesaribus*, for instance, which devotes almost four pages to the same subject, copies word for word some of Aurelius Victor's remarks but weakens the picture by drawing additional details and scurrilous rumor from Suetonius, all interlarded with feeble reflections. If we were to trace in detail the fourth-century conception of Augustus, we would find that it was already well set in the history of Dio Cassius, written shortly after 200. As generations of absolutism passed and the outward cloak of the Augustan principate began to wear thin, men could see ever more clearly that the true political character of the Empire had been established in the days of its founder.

Men of Aurelius Victor's age, in sum, may have appreciated some aspects of the Early Empire better than we can today. On the other hand, they did not voice the blind hatred of the whole system which Tacitus expresses. In literary ability, the shimmering innuendo with which Tacitus condemns Augustus at the beginning of his *Annals* far outstrips the bald epitome of Aurelius Victor; but the later historian comes closer to understanding the

¹⁰ *Aeneid* 6.851-53 (trans. Rolfe Humphries); on other ancient praise, see Wilhelm Gernentz, *Laudes Romae* (Rostock, 1918).

positive achievement of Augustus. Men of the fourth century had accepted the Empire both in its good and in its bad aspects.

In dealing with the Empire after Augustus, Aurelius Victor found a pattern of development which fell into four stages—the first century to Nerva, the golden age to Maximinus, the chaos of the third century, and the new era beginning with Diocletian. By these stages he ordered his account, but only roughly;¹¹ we must not expect to find in Aurelius Victor the clear analysis of a great historian. Nor was the whole story intended to demonstrate progress; Aurelius Victor was not a Christian like Orosius, who wrote a history of man to make manifest the truth of Christian revelation.

A few points in the account of Aurelius Victor deserve notice. Within the first stage the crucial point seems to be the accession of Claudius (A.D. 41), which was the decisive step toward consolidation of autocracy.¹² The appearance of emperors sprung from the provinces begins the second phase; looking back over the whole of Roman history at this juncture, Aurelius Victor bluntly affirms that “the city of Rome has grown particularly through the virtue of outsiders and adopted arts” (11.13). As a native of North Africa and as a subject of the world-state of the fourth century, in which Rome itself had lost its central importance, Aurelius Victor could view the rise of the provinces with as much equanimity as we can—in contrast to Tacitus!

In 235 Maximinus, “first of the military rulers, almost bereft of learning, seized the power by the will of the legions” (25.1), and the bitter chaos of the mid-third century commenced. Although fourth-century historians commonly selected this event as a turning point, Aurelius Victor felt more keenly than most the collapse which began with Maximinus. Autocracy was one thing; its virtual control by the undisciplined greed of barbarian soldiery was quite another, and the source of the deluge in his conservative, civilian view.¹³ The rulers, “good and bad, noble and ignoble, and often uneducated” (24.9) rose and fell as the soldiers elevated and murdered them. Rare was the emperor, like Probus, who tried to discipline them; rare, too, the abnegation of the soldiers themselves which permitted the Senate to name Tacitus to the throne.

Like many contemporaries, Aurelius Victor sensed that the period we call the Late Empire, from A.D. 284 onward, was a new era, and a sad one. He condemned corruption in the postal system and the weight of taxation;¹⁴

¹¹ While this division may have some connection with the chronological limits of certain sources of imperial history (cf. Hermann Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen*, II [Leipzig, 1897], 141–46, 153), it does not entirely correspond; his analysis does not rise from so simple a root.

¹² “Ita Romae regia potestas firmata,” 3.20.

¹³ 3.15, 11.9–11, 18.2, 26.6, 31.1, 34.1, 35.7.

¹⁴ The more direct attacks by the anonymous author of *De rebus bellicis* have recently been edited by E. A. Thompson, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor* (Oxford, 1952); cf. also the

after noticing that the emperor Philip duly celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Rome, he sadly commented that the 1100th year passed in his own times without ceremonies (28.2).

III

To Aurelius Victor the political history of the Empire is a matter primarily of emperors and *soldatesca*, with barbarians on the fringe. So in a sense it was, but this view is obviously a reflection of the general character of the fourth-century Empire, beset by the corruption of the governing circles, by the greed of a steadily less disciplined soldiery, and by an inner decay marked in civil wars, peasant uprisings, and general violence of life.¹⁵

Aurelius Victor himself was born on a small country estate, of an untutored father (21.5), but rose through the imperial bureaucracy to membership in the aristocracy of the Late Empire. At first glance he might seem to be expressing an aristocratic point of view in reaction against the unbridled despotism of his masters, even though, as I have noted, he accepted the Empire as inevitable. The aristocratic point of view, moreover, was dominant in the sources from which he drew his knowledge of the past; and at many points he repeats aristocratic approval or rejection of emperors based on the attitude of these rulers toward the upper classes. Gallienus, for instance, is sharply condemned by Aurelius Victor for excluding senators from military commands. Aurelius Victor thus has been labeled a senatorial adherent, and the most recent treatment of his history has called it "brimful of senatorial arrogance."¹⁶

It is at this point, however, that one must be most delicate in assessing the character of the man. The label just noted is not quite right, and a brief exploration of the point may be worth while in suggesting the complexity of fourth-century politics. When we look more closely at the work of Aurelius Victor, it becomes obvious that he pays less attention to the aristocracy of the Early Empire than a reader of Tacitus or Suetonius would expect. More significant is the fact that he emphasizes the Senate less than does his own contemporary, Eutropius;¹⁷ again, between the *Historia Augusta*, a flagrantly partial senatorial interpretation of the past, and the brief history of Aurelius

powerful, brief picture of the corruption drawn by Andrew Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire: The Clash between the Senate and Valentinian I* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 28–36, *ex Seck* and the sources.

¹⁵ Among the more recent surveys of the era, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII (Cambridge, 1939); Maurice Besnier, *L'Empire romain de l'avènement des Sévères au concile de Nicée* (Paris, 1937); André Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien, 325–395* (Paris, 1947); Ferdinand Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du Moyen Âge* (rev. ed.; Paris, 1951).

¹⁶ Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, p. 98.

¹⁷ So too Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur*, II, 151–52; Hohl, *Klio*, XI (1911), 225.

Victor there is a tremendous difference in tone.¹⁸ In repeated statements Aurelius Victor makes it clear that he would prefer to have noble and especially educated rulers—but in such a structure who would not? And, if he is to be taken simply as an aristocratic mouthpiece, it is remarkable that he is willing to praise valiant rulers even though he must regretfully note their imperfections in origin and upbringing.¹⁹

In the end, one must come to feel that Aurelius Victor—like his famous contemporary Ammianus Marcellinus—did not fully belong to the old aristocracy embodied in the circles of the Symmachi and others.²⁰ That fact is an important signpost which warns us not to interpret the political history of the fourth century too simply. Even if we leave out of account the rising Christian hierarchy, there is ample evidence that the development of the fourth century was the result of many interlocking factors. Two old elements were the emperors and the aristocracy of birth; there were also the rising rural aristocracy and the leaders of the soldiery; but Aurelius Victor and Ammianus Marcellinus stem from yet another group, which we may term the “middle classes” of city and countryside. Both tended to approach the old aristocracy, yet both could take a position critical of the emperors on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other. Ammianus Marcellinus passed very sharp strictures on the Roman aristocracy of his day; Aurelius Victor does not indicate close relations to this group but his judgment on the upper classes of the Early Empire was far from flattering. If he considered them directly, it was not to dilate on their persecution by the emperors but to stress that their decline was the product of their own desire for security:

And indeed, while they delighted in idleness and trembled for their riches and counted it more important than eternal life to guard and increase them, they themselves have paved the way for the barbarian soldiers to tyrannize over them and their children.²¹

¹⁸ Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, pp. 125–27, analyzes the ideal ruler of the *Historia Augusta*. On senatorial attitudes see also, among recent work, his *Die Kontorniaten: Ein verkanntes Propagandamittel der stadtrömischen heidnischen Aristokratie in ihrem Kampfe gegen das christliche Kaisertum*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1943); and John A. McGeachy, Jr., *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (dissertation, University of Chicago, 1942).

¹⁹ Cf. his significant judgment of Galerius and Constantius, “qui, quamquam humanitatis parum, ruris tamen ac militiae miseriis imbuti satis optimi reipublicae fuere” (39.26); and also 39.17, 39.28, 40.12–13. This line of thought, which Alföldi must admit, goes far toward upsetting his overly arbitrary interpretation of Aurelius Victor.

²⁰ Cf. E. A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge, Eng., 1947), pp. 14–16, 68, 126–29; and on Ammianus Marcellinus generally, M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Berkeley, 1947), chap. viii. The anonymous author of *De rebus bellicis* seems to be of the same origins (Thompson, *Roman Reformer*, pp. 86–87); in considering “Olympiodorus of Thebes,” *Classical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1944), 43–52, Thompson concludes that this fifth-century historian attacked the upper classes even more harshly.

²¹ 37.7 (trans. Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, p. 105); cf. his terse remark (37.5) on the Senate’s loss of power to install a ruler “incertum, an ipso cupiente per desidiam an metu seu dissensionum odio.”

One feels that both Ammianus Marcellinus and Aurelius Victor, as conservative men and as outsiders, wished that the old aristocracy *had* stood up for its position against the emperors. This epoch was to be the first in the Empire, and also the last, in which the middle group could express its views. The old order had yielded its intellectual dominance over men's thoughts, both within and without Christianity; but the economic and political decline of the Mediterranean world was already producing the rural aristocracy which was to rule the Middle Ages.

IV

If Aurelius Victor's history reveals any arrogance, it is intellectual rather than senatorial. In this respect his brief work reflects even more clearly than the history of Ammianus Marcellinus a very interesting tendency of fourth-century thought in reaction to despotism.²²

Outwardly the subjects generally accepted the mastery of their *dominus*; but as one probes more deeply one finds that men of the fourth century had not really abdicated all sense of human dignity. To fight against the emperors on the old planes of political activity was useless. The autonomy of the Senate had long since been lost, though some Roman aristocrats made feeble efforts to assert the honor of this body; and the urban units of government had likewise yielded their independence. But there were new fields of action. The Christian Church, for one, had been free in its days of persecution; once it was accepted by the state under Constantine, its leaders found their independence insidiously assailed by imperial power, and Athanasius, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom were forced to some remarkable steps of defiance. In the countryside the peasants sometimes moved to outright revolt against the exactions of the state; more quietly, the landowners proper were steadily carving out well-nigh feudal holdings which were increasingly independent of state authority.²³ As for those pagans who tried to live within the old framework of the upper classes, they too had at least one field in which to maintain their dignity—that of culture.

By the fourth century the Roman Empire had thrown up virtually a mandarin class, in which outward dignity and public advancement were quite commonly connected, on the civil side, with the possession of a veneer of classical culture. This interesting development, which has received considerable attention in recent years, has its roots far back in the Early Empire.²⁴

²² Ammianus, indeed, shares this respect for culture (e.g., 14.6.1, 21.10.8, 30.4.2).

²³ See my *Civilization and the Caesars: The Intellectual Revolution in the Roman Empire* (Ithaca, 1954), pp. 364–71.

²⁴ Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, pp. 96 ff., has a good picture with extensive references; see also McGeachy, *Symmachus*, pp. 153 ff. Gaston Boissier, *La fin du paganisme: Etude sur les dernières*

Though its full characteristics cannot be discussed here, I may point out that the *Kulturkampf* of the fourth century was not so much a struggle of Christian with pagan, as some have put it, nor again solely of the heathen aristocracy against the rulers, but rather a battle by intellectuals of all types to maintain the dignity and autonomy of culture.

In part these men were fighting against the state to assert some modicum of independence within the autocracy under which they lived. To some extent they were striving to protect the standards by which they gained preferment in the civil service; men who rose without possessing the usual requirements of learning were bitterly assailed by Aurelius Victor.²⁵ But even more, perhaps, the educated classes of the fourth-century Empire were aware of the rising threat of barbarism within and without the Empire and were less consciously sensible of a decline in the classical form of civilization. "If we lose eloquence," asserted the rhetorician Libanius, "we shall become the same as the barbarians."²⁶

The history of Aurelius Victor is one of the most conscious expressions of this emphasis. It may well have been written to advertise his own mastery of culture, and its pages have really not one but two major themes: beside the exposition of autocracy he underlines the significance of culture. Since the rulers were all-important, they should serve as ideal models of cultured Romans. On his first page he notes the encouragement of learning by Augustus; when he comes to the end of the Julio-Claudian line, he digresses (8.7-8) to stress the general learning of these rulers and to point out that emperors need both good morals and also education. The passage strikes a note which he frequently reiterates. Since the rulers *should* be educated, he must censure those who are not, though he may soften his criticism by pointing out their practical achievements. Eras, too, are good or bad depending in large part on whether men of education and learning—not quite the same thing as the senatorial class, it may be noted—are respected or disdained (24.9-10).

In sum, his history was an exhortation to the rulers to follow the path of learning. On the deeds of the current emperor Aurelius Victor must, like his fellows, be discreet, even flattering;²⁷ but in praising or censuring past rulers

luttres religieuses en Occident au quatrième siècle, 2 vols. (5th ed.; Paris, 1907), is not to be overlooked; the character of fourth-century learning is well illuminated by Henri Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938), pp. 11 ff., 85 ff., with his *Retractatio* (1949), pp. 680 ff.

²⁵ 9.12, 42.24.

²⁶ Letter 369.9.

²⁷ Although Aurelius Victor finished his history in 360 and so praised Constantius lavishly, his last sentences, which criticized that ruler, must certainly have been added after the accession of Julian in 361.

the pens of such men were relatively free, and their attitude certainly could be understood by their master. One of the most revealing passages in Aurelius Victor follows his brief account of the ephemeral emperor Didius Julianus. Like one other fourth-century historian Aurelius Victor confuses Didius with Salvius Julianus, the codifier of the praetor's edict under Hadrian,²⁸ and states that Septimius Severus ordered the writings of his adversary destroyed. Then comes his reflection:

So much does the esteem of the learned arts avail that not even savage persecution can harm the fame of authors. A death of this manner, indeed, is a source of glory to those who suffer and a curse on those who order it; for all—and especially later generations—feel that such talents could not be repressed save in times of the collapse of public order and through sheer madness. Therefore one should trust the judgment of all good men and of myself too, inasmuch as I was born on a small farm to an untutored father and have secured a status of noble rank through learned studies in these days [20.2–5].

As we look back, we know that Aurelius Victor and his type were fighting a losing battle. In opposing that terrible despotism which appears in the all-regulating edicts of the Theodosian Code they had some partial successes; for the emperors generally accepted the ideal of culture and paid real respect to its exponents.²⁹ Nevertheless the emperors had also to obey the brutal voice of the soldiery, and they were desperately driven by the impossible requirements of a decaying political and economic structure.

Yet more, classical civilization had virtually yielded to a new scheme of thought, without any really conscious battle to preserve the old system. Nonetheless the rearguard action by the mandarins of the fourth century had a great significance in the development of Western civilization. Christian fathers had to put other virtues ahead of culture, but they were so deeply influenced by contemporary thought that most of them did not discard the ideal of culture itself. The greater leaders of the fourth-century Church had received an education of the same type as that of which Aurelius Victor was so proud; and they aided in the transmission of its ideals and of much of its substance to the Middle Ages and beyond.³⁰

²⁸ Cf. E. Kornemann, "Der Jurist Salvius Julianus und Kaiser Didius Julianus," *Klio*, VI (1906), 178–84.

²⁹ Cf. the efforts of the rulers to be educated or to train their heirs; their employment of scholars (Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, pp. 107–11) and their formal proclamations that education was necessary for preferment (*C.Th.* 14.1.1); their commissions to Eutropius and Festus to write the history of earlier times; their bans even on barbarian clothing (*C.Th.* 14.10.2–4).

³⁰ This great issue has been widely explored; see in recent literature M. L. W. Laistner, *Christianity and Pagan Culture* (Ithaca, 1951); and my *Civilization and the Caesars*, pp. 349–54, 359, 402.

V

In concentrating upon the work of any particular figure, one always runs the risk of claiming for him undue originality. To avoid this error in the case of Aurelius Victor is particularly important; he is significant by the very fact that he reflects several main currents of fourth-century thought as well as its factual body of knowledge of the past.

Like other historians of the era Aurelius Victor took most of his materials from a very few earlier works. By this time the history of the Early Empire had been reduced to "une fable convenue," in which the judgments on Trajan, Gallienus, and other rulers had been set; to support these judgments men had available a common stock of facts, errors, and slurs from which they drew greater or lesser quantities at their pleasure. Since the days of Enmann, it is generally agreed that the fourth century relied chiefly upon an "imperial history," now lost, which covered the era from Augustus down to some point about or after 300.³¹ This work itself depended heavily on Suetonius for the emperors of the first century; the sources for its treatment of later rulers cannot be entirely determined.

That some such survey did exist seems clear from the verbal similarities of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and other fourth-century writers. On the other hand, these historians cannot be dismissed as simple abbreviators of *one* earlier work. Enmann himself, while placing great weight on his "imperial history," was more careful than some of the scholars who have relied upon his discovery, and pointed out that in all our extant epitomes we can detect several sources.³² Men of the fourth century, moreover, must be allowed the possibility of drawing directly on the primary works themselves, such as the biographies of Suetonius (and also the histories of Tacitus in the case of Ammianus Marcellinus at least); presumably Aurelius Victor himself had spent considerable time perusing Sallust. There is no reason, in brief, why we may not grant about as much industry to these writers of the fourth century as to the authors of modern textbooks.

³¹ On this and other sources, particularly as Aurelius Victor drew on them, see the works of Opitz, Jeep, Wölfflin, Enmann, Peter, and Hohl cited earlier; also Richard Armstedt, "Quae ratio intercedat inter undecim capita priora Sexti Aurelii Victoris et libri de Caesaribus et Epitomes quae dicitur," *Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1884-85* (Bückeburg), and Arthur Cohn, *Quibus ex fontibus Sexti Aurelii Victoris et Libri de Caesaribus et Epitomes undecima capita priora fluxerint* (Berlin, 1884) (these I have not seen). The volume of studies specifically concerned with the sources of the *Historia Augusta* cannot be listed here; cf. David Magie's introduction to the second volume of the Loeb translation (London, 1924); *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII (1939), 730; and Werner Hartke, *Geschichte und Politik im spätantiken Rom: Untersuchungen über die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Klio, Beih. XLV, 1940).

³² *Philologus*, Supp. IV (1884), 370-74, 404-407, and *passim*. Eduard von Wölfflin, "Epitome," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, XII (1902), 333-44, delivered a vigorous assault on "dem unglückseligen 'Einquellenprincipe,'" and showed that virtually all epitomes of the imperial period depended on more than one source.

Whatever the origin of the facts embodied in the history of Aurelius Victor, his manipulation of his material has certain merits. He groups his facts according to a scheme and departs apparently more often from his sources than do his contemporaries;³³ he displays critical ability at various points in assessing the earlier tradition;³⁴ he generally voices frank judgments, apart from displaying undue enthusiasm over the house of Constantine and Constantius.³⁵

In commenting on the deification of the emperor Gallienus, he shows that his heart was in his task and that history in his judgment had a distinct utility:

If faith in history did not stand in the way—for history does not allow the good to be deprived of the rewards of fame nor permit the evil to secure eternal noble repute—virtue would be sought in vain; for deification, that unique and true honor, could be granted through influence to the bad and impiously withheld from the good [33.26].

More important than the pattern of facts is the system of values which underlies Aurelius Victor's account. As I have already suggested, his view of the Empire as an autocracy was far from original, and he at least tended to approach the aristocratic attitude in judging past rulers. The emphasis on culture as an independent value, which the Empire must protect and foster, can also be detected in men of the third century, an era in which the Mediterranean world was rent by internal war and pounded by invasions from without. Long ago, Rome had been valorous, but uncivilized; now its military power was failing, but it boasted ever more of its culture. And upon its common culture had largely depended in the last analysis the restoration of unity within the Empire at the end of the third century.

In this field as well, the fact that Aurelius Victor was indebted to his predecessors and expressed a common stock of thought of his contemporaries does not mean that he is without merit. He took over these views not because they had already been stated but rather because he himself believed in them. Our interpretation of the fourth century still suffers far too much from an underlying assumption that the era was one solely of sterility and decay; and so we are disinclined to allow any merits to its products, artistic, literary, or intellectual.³⁶ An age which produced the towering figures of Jerome and Augustine, the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, and a remarkable array of sculpture is not to be judged thus. Between the Early and the Late Empires

³³ Hohl, *Klio*, XI (1911), 209, 225; Enmann, *Philologus*, Supp. IV (1884), 387, 399.

³⁴ E.g., 5.9, 14.9, 20.34.

³⁵ See Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur*, II, 146–48.

³⁶ A sad example is the recent diatribe by Bernard Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine* (London, 1954).

lay a tremendous intellectual revolution, and the men of the fourth century were thinking along new lines.³⁷

One small fruit of this shift is the modest history by Aurelius Victor. The author disliked Christianity to the point of ignoring it, he esteemed classical civilization, but he could not help living in a world which had radically changed. His moralizing emphasis on virtue suggests the new era;³⁸ despite his repetition of omens and his praise of Diocletian's support of the old faith he displays as little real belief in paganism as do most of his non-Christian contemporaries; the faults in his prose style rise largely from the fact that he was trying to imitate an earlier style and really could not do so.

His whole history reveals in many respects a sense that the Empire was now quite different. Men living in this new era needed to know little of the past, and like numerous other writers of the fourth century Aurelius Victor attempted to give them the essential material in a brief compass. In his incisive, direct approach he far surpasses most of his contemporaries; his effort to make the earlier history of the Empire meaningful deserves our respect. His *Liber de Caesaribus* reflects both the currents of thought among the average educated class of the era and its view of the past.

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³⁷ Cf. my *Civilization and the Caesars*, pp. 281-83, 339-44, and *passim*.

³⁸ Cf. 14.8-9, 28.6-7.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Calvin's Case (1608) and the McIlwain-Schuyler Debate

HARVEY WHEELER

IN his early book, *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation*,¹ Professor Charles H. McIlwain posed for himself the problem of considering once again whether the American colonists had been "right" in their pre-revolutionary constitutional arguments. His review of English constitutional doctrines led him to side with the Americans. Abundant precedents were cited to prove that the eighteenth-century English parliament had no constitutional authority over the colonies save the illegal declaration of 1649. Thus the claim of the colonists that they owed allegiance to the king and not to parliament was a "constitutional" claim.

The McIlwain thesis was impressive, but not sufficiently so to convince Professor Robert L. Schuyler. His *Parliament and the British Empire*² was a powerful attempt to controvert the McIlwain thesis. This was a review of English constitutional sources adding up to the opposite conclusions: parliament was held to have been constitutionally right in legislating for the colonies and there was a mass of precedent to prove it. The wrath of Maitland was invoked, but now against his famous disciple McIlwain: "It is hard to think away out of our heads a history which has long lain in a remote past, but which once lay in the future' . . . We should realize," continued Schuyler, "that parliaments were originally, in fact as well as in form, sessions of a

¹ New York, 1923.

² R. L. Schuyler, *Parliament and the British Empire* (New York, 1929). This problem occasioned extensive controversy. In 1922 Randolph G. Adams had published his *Political Ideas of the American Revolution*, an analysis of eighteenth-century American sources compatible with conclusions reached independently by Professor McIlwain. Adams developed the thesis that eighteenth-century American theorists had accurately foreseen the true nature of the British Empire as a group of autonomous dominions unified only through the crown, blaming the British theory of parliamentary sovereignty for having blinded Britons to the accuracy of this "American construction." Sir Arthur B. Keith entered the dispute in 1930 with his *Constitutional History of the First British Empire*. This had been prepared too early to take more than passing notice of the Schuyler contribution but it supported the same position and necessarily drew on the same sources. Less directly involved in the dispute but of ancillary importance is Martin Wight's *The Development of the Legislative Council, 1606-1945* (London, 1946); and Professor McIlwain's essay "The Historical Background of Federal Government," in *Federalism as a Democratic Process: Essays by Roscoe Pound, Charles H. McIlwain, and Roy F. Nichols* (New Brunswick, 1942), should also be cited—the closing "Commentaries" by F. W. Coker and E. S. Corwin bear somewhat on the theoretical points in the extended dispute.

royal council. The king was not only an element in their constitution; he was the essential element."³ In effect, Schuyler said, political authority in England was theoretically organic and to make a separation between the acts of the king and the acts of parliament was without basis in English constitutional history. Obviously, then, he had to draw his precedents from such "organic" periods of constitutional development. Schuyler's story was told with great stress on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The early seventeenth century, a time of constitutional disorganization and crisis, was not so easily manageable. There, strong reliance was placed on Coke's statement (his "obiter dictum," McIlwain had termed it) in *Calvin's Case* proclaiming parliamentary supremacy over Ireland.⁴ Indeed, Calvin's case was crucial in the McIlwain-Schuyler dispute and was cited by both more often than any other precedent. The reason for its importance was that, although it formally concerned a dispute over land titles, its underlying purpose was to settle the nature of the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James I and say what effect that union wrought between the subjects and the institutions of the previously separate and antagonistic countries. This occasioned a lengthy debate between Commons and royal factions over the nature of allegiance—the first of the long series of crises which were to issue in the civil wars. The question was directly related to that later raised by the American colonists, for it turned on the problem whether allegiance was owing more to the king or to the laws. If to the king, then the mere fact of James's accession to the English throne was enough to work a considerable union between the two peoples and their institutions; if to the laws, then Scotsmen could not be considered naturalized English citizens, and Robert Calvin, a Scottish infant born after the death of Elizabeth,⁵ could not be allowed tenure of the land at issue.

As every aspect of this question had been debated in and out of parliament since the moment of James's arrival in England,⁶ the issues, the argu-

³ Schuyler, pp. 34-35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

⁵ The distinction between those born *before* and those born *after* the death of Elizabeth—the "ante-nati" and the "post-nati" (with larger British citizenship applying only to the latter) was a compromise intended to provide for gradual unification of the two realms during the span of a maturing generation.

⁶ Francis Bacon, *A Briefe Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland* (London, 1603), *A Speech . . . concerning the Article of Naturalization of the Scottish Nation* [Feb. 17, 1606/7] (London, 1641), and the "Preparation for the Union of the Laws" [1608], *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath (Riverside Press edition), XV, 313-34; Sir Thomas Craig, *De unione regnorum Britanniae tractatus* (1605); Bishop John Thornborough, *The ioiefull . . . reuniting of the two . . . kingdomes, England and Scotland* (1603), *A Discourse plainly proving the evident utility and urgent necessity of the desired happy union . . .* (1604) (the authorship of both these tracts is attributed to Thornborough but both were also published under the name of John Bristoll); Sir John Harward, *Treatise of Union of the Two Realmes of England and Scotland* (1604); Sir William Cornwallis,

ments, and their partisans were already well defined by the time of the trial in 1608, and what had been a political dispute became simply a court trial. Not an ordinary trial at that, however, for everyone knew that the suit had been contrived by James in an attempt to resolve, by judgments of the royal judges (whose pro-union opinions were already known through their consultations with the Lords during the earlier stages of the debate), the issue which appeared to hinder passage of a thoroughgoing act of union by the Commons.

The anti-union argument, relying heavily on civil law maxims, denied the primacy of the king's person in allegiance. Laurance Hyde and Sergeant Hutton, long familiar with all aspects of the case through their earlier espousal of the Commons position, made the defendant's presentation.⁷ The basic argument of the Commons faction was that naturalization proceeded from the laws and not the king's person, and the mere fact of Robert Calvin's allegiance to the person who was king of England did not make him naturalized in England.

Francis Bacon argued for the crown and the plaintiff, and we have his masterful brief under the title "The Case of the Post-Nati."⁸ The opinions of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere and Chief Justice Coke have also been preserved.⁹ Although every one of England's highest judges actually gave an opinion in the case, and despite the fact that the case had been initiated through simultaneous suits in the King's Bench and the Chancery, it is Coke's opinion for the Common Pleas which has generally been accepted by later scholars. The interesting point of this is that though Coke, in his rule of decision, judged in favor of Calvin, he did so without ruling that the union of the crowns had caused a resulting degree of union between the laws and institutions of England and Scotland, thus giving judgment for James without actually awarding defeat to the Commons.

Had Coke been willing to throw over the independence of the law—as implied in James's own monarchical theories and announced positively in Ellesmere's ruling on the case for the Chancery side—then his task would have been easier. Instead he tried to retain both the efficacious naturalizing power of the "king's body natural" together with the independent authority

The Miraculous and Happie Union of England and Scotland (1604); James I, "Speech to Parliament on the Union," *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), pp. 296-97.

⁷ Thomas Bayly Howell, ed., *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials* (London, 1809-28), II, col. 567. They agreed that "in the king's person there is an union of sovereignty over both nations," but it was contended that, "notwithstanding this union, yet the fundamental lawes of either nation do remaine distinct."

⁸ *Works of Francis Bacon*, XV, 189-249.

⁹ *State Trials*, II, cols. 611, 660.

of the common law at the expense of an integrated analysis of the English constitution of his day. The passages in which he wrestled with this problem are among the most interesting in the literature of constitutionalism, for they show a great judge laboriously at work laying down his preliminary definitions and premises so as to solve one problem and then gradually shifting and developing them in argumentation so as to solve the other. The crucial maneuver turned on the legal definition of *ligeance*, which was defined first, because of the law of nature, simply as the unilateral obligation of the subject to obey his sovereign.¹⁰

Then through a series of subtle definitional changes, allegiance was qualified so that "power and protection draweth ligeance."¹¹ Next, reciprocity was gradually introduced as Coke made "ligeance and obedience of the subject to the sovereign, due by the law of nature," and "protection and government due by the law of nature."¹² Sensing that he was at the threshold of a resolution, Coke's outlook brightened measurably: "this case, in the opinion of divers, was more doubtful in the beginning, but the further it proceeded, the clearer and stronger it grew; and therefore the doubt grew from some violent passion, and not from any reason grounded upon the law of nature."¹³ He quickly derived a "union of protection of both kingdoms, equally belonging to the subjects of either of them."¹⁴ This confluence of protections somehow allowed the institutions of the two nations (their laws excepted!) to be related to each other in the same manner that the confluence of allegiances wrought a relationship between the two peoples. Finally, post-natus subjects of both countries were judged able to hold property throughout the two realms because protection of both countries emanated from the same source.

Coke had been able to unify English and Scottish protection by making the relationship between king and subject reciprocal. But to do so required a change in the definition by which he had established a degree of union between the subjects of the two countries because of their unilateral obedience to the same king. But this change undermined the first demonstration of union. For if a subject's allegiance is determined by or dependent upon the

¹⁰ *State Trials*, II, col. 613. Calvin being a natural-law subject of James could not be an alien to James, and therefore neither could he be an alien to the subjects of James. As one could be only alien or subject by birth, Calvin, being a subject, must be held related to the English through his personal allegiance to James. For Calvin to hold property it was also necessary to relate the legal institutions of the two countries so that Calvin could be declared not only spiritually related to Englishmen through James but also legally naturalized through James.

¹¹ *State Trials*, II, col. 623.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, col. 632.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, cols. 632-33. Coke's phrasing is interesting. It was precisely "reason grounded on the law of nature" which allowed him to escape from his constitutional impasse.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, col. 633. Note here that "government" is silently dropped from the formula. This was necessary, for he was to conclude by arguing that, despite these unions, the laws of the two countries remained distinct. *Ibid.*, II, cols. 633-34.

protection furnished him by a king, the mystique of kingship is dissolved, and it is difficult to see why the addition of new realms to the king would work any difference between the subjects.

Calvin's case is a case study of a constitution in crisis. The Commons' argument had been explicitly framed in terms of the superiority of the common law over the royal prerogative in matters of naturalization. Ellesmere's opinion went to the other side and announced a self-consistent ruling along high prerogative lines. Coke straddled both sides. He gave the rule of the decision for the king but the substance of his opinion for the Commons. It is little wonder that later disputants such as Professors McIlwain and Schuyler should both be able to find support for their opposing positions from Calvin's case. McIlwain could dispose of Coke's claim of parliamentary jurisdiction over Ireland as an obiter dictum, for the rule of the decision had reinforced the theory of the subject's personal allegiance to the king rather than to the laws—and this, of course was precisely the claim of the American colonists. Schuyler, however, had Coke's unmistakable statement that Ireland "by judgment of law might by express words be bound by act of the parliament of England."¹⁵ Moreover, throughout his opinion, Coke had taken pains to protect the independent autonomy of the common law.

Although the problem of determining the juristic relations between England and Ireland is an important one, the insuperable difficulty involved in using documents referring to the permanent state of revolution which was Ireland in support of constitutionalist doctrines is apparent. It is even arguable that the relations of England and Ireland can be more meaningfully treated from the vantage point of international law rather than the domestic or imperial constitutional theory of England. "Ireland," for long centuries, was in the eyes of English law merely certain ports, the market towns and the "pale." The "mastery" gained over Ireland by Elizabeth followed similar techniques and had similar results as her program for obtaining mastery of the seas. The Ireland of this period must be thought of almost in the same terms as the America of early colonizing days. The native Irish vis-à-vis the English must be compared to other native peoples brought under empire rule. To describe English regulations as being authoritative in Ireland is merely an example of the inherent solipsism of national legal systems in which external legal acts derive their significance from their status as national rather than extranational law. Thus if an American Congress were to take legal steps resulting in American statehood for Newfoundland, would an acceptance by Newfoundland amount to an admission on her part that American statutes

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, col. 639.

had traditionally applied to her? Obviously not, though it was a roughly similar type of proof that Professor Schuyler sometimes relied on.¹⁶

However, Professor Schuyler's quest is obviously a legitimate one. Observations such as the above may aid us in judging precedents more accurately, but the fact remains that it is a valid subject for inquiry to determine if there was any settled constitutional doctrine concerning the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the English parliament. However, to ask the question using Professor Schuyler's definition of parliament is to beg the question. For if all English authority is by definition organic "parliamentary" authority, whether exercised in the fourteenth or the eighteenth century, the McIlwain-Schuyler dispute is resolved by definition and the American colonists resume their historical position as revolutionaries rather than the constitutionalists Professor McIlwain would have them. This resolution might be permissible were it not for two factors. First, as Calvin's case and the constitutional dualism which permeates it indicates, such a definition of parliament is not valid for the early seventeenth century. Second, although Schuyler with his collection of facts and precedents seriously damaged the McIlwain thesis, he did not destroy it. Professor Schuyler did not—could not—bring the documents from the high prerogative tradition that had formed the core of the *American Revolution* into agreement with the opposing parliamentary tradition from which he drew his material. A thesis may be damaged, but it cannot be disproved, merely by citing conflicting evidence. Professor McIlwain still had his array of precedents and they were just as convincing after 1929 as they had been before.

Were it not for the Irish materials relied upon by Professor Schuyler, we would be able to drop the matter at that, suggesting that a closer look at Calvin's case shows that they were both "right" and also wrong, at the same time. But if the dual constitutional positions found in Calvin's case give a reliable lead, then presumably a similar dualism should also be present regarding the territorial jurisdiction of parliament. Specifically, there should be in the earlier seventeenth century strong denials of the supremacy of parliament over Ireland. Professor Schuyler has already impeached the admissibility of some of these, but let us briefly review the situation.¹⁷

The opinions of Sir Edward Coke play a great role in the demonstration

¹⁶ Schuyler, pp. 8–23. According to H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles the medieval materials are considerably less ambiguous. However their corrected definition of "parliament" should be borne in mind. *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp. 1–9, 92, 147, 244, 273.

¹⁷ For much of the immediately following material I am indebted to Professor Francis D. Wormuth of the University of Utah, who has allowed me to quote from parts of his unpublished manuscript on the authority of the English parliament over Ireland.

of extraterritorial parliamentary authority. Yet Coke is not so dogmatic on this question as we have been led to believe. Even in Calvin's case, where his statement was that Ireland "by judgment of law might by express words be bound by act of the parliament of England," the argument seems to turn on a question of religion rather than title by conquest or title by descent. For though the king may change the laws of a conquered infidel people at will, when a Christian kingdom has been acquired by conquest "as Henry II had Ireland . . . no succeeding king could alter the same without parliament."¹⁸ If Christianity determines the jurisdiction of the English parliament, constitutional doctrines are subject to considerable revision. Moreover, it must be noted that parliament enters negatively rather than positively. The king is still the active agent, but in dealing with Christian peoples he must have the agreement of parliament. Perhaps what Coke really intends here is a theory of virtual representation. Parliament is doubtless to be thought of as the virtual representative of all Christendom.

The often cited debate in the parliament of 1620-1621 over a bill "for free Fishing in Virginia and those parts"¹⁹ is of general importance for the question of parliamentary jurisdiction and of particular interest regarding the opinion of Coke. Earlier in the same parliament Coke had reaffirmed the doctrine of the king's dual capacity: "There is Prerogative indisputable, and Prerogative disputable."²⁰ Regarding the Fishing Bill, as the debate opened:

Mr. Secretary Saith, that *Virginia, New England and New Foundland* and those other foreign parts of *America*, are not yet annexed to the Crown of *England*, but are the King's as gotten by conquest; and therefore he thinketh it worthy the consideration of the House, whether we shall here make Laws for the Government of those parts; for he taketh it, in such new Plantations the King is to govern it only by his Prerogative, and as his Majesty shall think fit.²¹

Mr. Brooke held that as "this House made a law which tied Ireland, before it was annexed to this Crown," similar regulations could be made for America.²² In this opinion, Sir Edwin Sandys agreed. Sir John Davis, however, supported Mr. Secretary with an opinion that, with regard to Ireland, "this kingdom here cannot make Laws to bind that Kingdom, for they have there a Parliament of their own."²³

In view of these divided opinions Coke's summary is of heightened interest:

It is both fit and lawful for us to complain for Ireland: At this Parliament there are divers of the Lords of the upper House who are appointed to hear and bring

¹⁸ *State Trials*, II, col. 639.

¹⁹ *Proceedings and Debates in the House of Commons, 1620-1621*, by a member of that House, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1766), I, 318.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 65.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 318.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 327.

in the complaints of Ireland: That on such complaints of Ireland the King doth order a reformation; and those things which may not be formed but by a Parliament, his majesty hath put in a course, and given order for a Parliament in Ireland to make laws to remedy the abuses there.²⁴

If anything, Coke's position seems to support the view that an English parliament may not *legislate* for Ireland. That may be done only by order of the king or through the Irish parliament. However the English parliament may, with regard to Irish questions, as with all "prerogative disputable" questions, perform its constitutional function of tending advice to the king. Perhaps this was all Coke ever meant when he said in Calvin's case that the king could not alter the laws "without parliament."

There is one final bit of evidence concerning the opinion of Sir Edward Coke. In 1621, Sir John Vaughan was made a baron "of the Kingdom of Ireland." When called by the House of Commons he excused himself on the basis of his title:

It grew to be a question whether by his being made a Baron of Ireland and so to be of the Lords House there he were discharged of being of the Commons House here in England: and the whole opinion of the House was that he was not discharged . . . for tho' Ireland be held of England yet it is a distinct kingdom of itself and they have Parliaments there and do make Lawes, and the Statute Lawes made now here do not bind them there, and Sir Edward Coke was of that Opinion.²⁵

This is admittedly second-hand evidence regarding Coke himself, but from what we know of his other opinions concerning Ireland it is not unlikely that he may have denied the authority of parliament over Ireland.

In view of Coke's doubtful stand regarding Ireland, it is interesting to compare the opinions of Francis Bacon. As Bacon is usually regarded as being more sympathetic toward the prerogative, one does not expect to find him defending parliamentary authority. However, even here the evidence is uncertain, though the brunt of his opinions goes against parliamentary authority in Ireland. "Any man attainted of treason," he wrote, "be it according to the common law or by act of Parliament. . . . He hath no remedy to recover [land] from the king but by petition. Inasmuch as the statute of 2 Edward VI . . . is not (as we understand) in force in Ireland."²⁶

Somewhat later in his "Speech on Naturalization" there occurs the statement, "And therefore we see in the experience of our own government, that

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 328.

²⁵ MS Collections in the Proceedings and Privileges of the House of Commons, copied in 1710 from the MS of Richardson, Speaker of the House in 1621.

²⁶ "Answers to the Questions sent into England from the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland," James Spedding, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon* (London, 1861-74), III, 110.

in the Kingdom of Ireland all our statute laws since Poyning's law are not in force."²⁷ This is admittedly merely an interpretation of Poyning's Law and not properly a denial of jurisdiction. Regarding a specific statute Bacon held:

We are of the opinion that the Oath of Allegiance by law is not to be ministered to any of His M. subjects in Ireland.—Parliament men or others,—by way of compulsion, because the Statute concerning the same is not in force there. . . . But we are of opinion that by the statute 3^o of his M's reign the said oath may be tendered to any of the Irish here.²⁸

But this, of course, concerns only one statute.

In Calvin's case we know that the attorneys for the Commons must have argued that the law of England followed conquest, for this was one of the points Bacon, as attorney for Calvin, felt constrained to refute:

. . . the laws of England are not superinduced upon any country by conquest; but . . . the old laws remain until the king by his proclamation . . . declare other laws; and then if he will he may declare laws which be utterly repugnant, and differing from the laws of England. . . . the reason why Ireland is subject to the laws of England is not *ipso jure* upon conquest, but grew by a charter of king John; and that extended but to so much as was then in the king's possession. . . .²⁹

As to the question of fact, this might be considered grist for Professor Schuyler's mill; but as to question of law, the case is not so clear, for everything appears to turn on the king's prerogative.

Toward the conclusion of his brief Bacon returned to the Irish question. The major point was whether the king's title was lord or king of Ireland. "King Henry VIII . . . was the first that writ himself king, the former style being lord of Ireland . . . yet kings had the same authority before . . . and the nation the same marks of a sovereign state, as their Parliaments, their arms, their coins, as they now have."³⁰

Thus, as with Lord Coke, Bacon's position is not absolutely clear regarding the status of Ireland, but the weight of his various opinions must be placed on the side of the king rather than parliament.

Our final piece of evidence on Ireland concerns the trial of Robert Lalor in 1607. Lalor was vicar general for the papacy in Ireland and was brought to trial in the Irish King's Bench under the statute of praemunire of 16 Richard II c.5. Sir John Davies, the attorney general of Ireland, argued as follows:

But you, being an Irishman, will say, perhaps, these laws were made in England, and that the Irish nation gave no particular consent thereunto, only there was implicit consent wropt and folded up in general terms given in the [Irish] statute

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 315. See discussion of Poyning's Law as the "watershed between medieval and modern," Richardson and Sayles, p. 280.

²⁸ "The Legality of the Oath of Allegiance in Ireland," Spedding, III, 388.

²⁹ *Works of Francis Bacon*, XV, 220-21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 244-45.

of 10 Hen. 7. cap 22. whereby all statutes made in England are established and made of force in Ireland. Assuredly, though the first parliament held in Ireland was after the first law against provisors made in England, yet have there been many particular laws made in Ireland against provisions, citations, bulls and breves of the court of Rome, as are to be found in all the parliament-rolls in England. What will you say if in the self-same parliament of 10 Hen. 7. cap. 5. a special law were made, enacting, authorizing and confirming in this realm all the statutes of England made against provisors; if before this the like law were made 32 Hen. 6 cap 4. and again 28 Hen. 6. cap 30. the like; and before that, the like law were made 40 Edw. 3. cap 13. in the famous parliament of Kilkenny.³¹

This argument must be followed closely, for what has happened is that a representative of England trying a case in Ireland has in effect disclaimed parliamentary jurisdiction over Ireland. The attorney general has virtually admitted that if Lalor could show that no Irish parliament had consented to the statute in question he could not be tried under an English statute. It was for infringement of Irish statutes, not English, that Lalor was being tried.

Though the preceding examples by no means exhaust this large subject, they are enough to show that expert constitutional opinion in England in the early seventeenth century was clearly divided on the subject of parliamentary jurisdiction over Ireland. In addition to the materials relied on by Professor Schuyler, there are strong indications that Coke, one of his prime supports, at different times denied parliamentary jurisdiction over Ireland, as did several other authoritative observers. The early seventeenth-century Irish materials reflect a dualism similar to that which ran to the heart of Coke's opinion in Calvin's case. For seventeenth-century England yields the picture of a constitution in transition. Two separate sources of authority were regularly appealed to. In view of this, it is little wonder that the Schuyler-McIlwain debate should seem irresolvable, for they have documented their positions from the opposing principles of a constitution which had split in two. Professor McIlwain followed the high prerogative sources. In so doing he put himself in the uneasy position of defending the legality of an American "Whig revolution" with proofs from the English high prerogative tradition. This is permissible only if it can be assumed that the same English law which in the hands of parliamentary Whigs neutralized the royal prerogative, had a kind of supra-historical existence which validated the appeal of revolutionaries to historic royalist principles in the furtherance of a revolt *against* Whigs.

Professor Schuyler, for his part, assumed an integrated, organic constitution. In stating his case he drew precedents from the parliamentary tradition. But it is an unsatisfactory legalism to argue that because the "parliament" of Henry VIII had legislative authority over colonies so did the "parliament"

³¹ "The Case of the Praemunire in Ireland (1607)," *State Trials*, II, col. 540.

of George III. For between these periods a tremendous constitutional transition took place. Arguments from one side of the constitutional divide cannot be resolved by precedents drawn from the other. This was the source of the interpretative errors in both McIlwain and Schuyler. It was heightened when they concentrated on the seventeenth-century materials, for there the constitutional dualism of the times made it possible for each to support his case from the opposing regal and anti-regal positions. Both could find support but neither could find victory. It was a question which could not be resolved historiographically, for both men were asking a constitutionalist question of a "pre-constitutional" society.

Of course, it was the American colonists themselves who were initially "responsible" for this analytical error as they developed their pre-revolutionary polemics. James Wilson in rationalizing American claims explicitly chose doctrines from Calvin's case in his elaboration of what Professor Adams called the first theory of a Commonwealth of Nations.³² Moreover, it is precisely with George III that the polar positions associated with the reign of James I became again analytically applicable. Burke gave succinct expression to this in his famous comment that "the power of the Crown, almost dead and rotten as prerogative, has grown up anew . . . under the name of influence."³³ Under these conditions there was a factual as well as a strategic impulse leading the American colonists back to Calvin's case. Without judging the accuracy of their constitutional interpretations, we may approve at least of the acuteness of their historical polemics. They were confronted by political conditions roughly similar to those confronting the parliaments of seventeenth-century England. For them, however, it was a parliamentary as well as a royal source of political power that seemed oppressive. Calvin's case, from the standpoint of law, politics, and history, was perfectly suited to American needs. For it had declared that allegiance was due to the king rather than the laws. It ratified the union of England and Scotland, retaining at the same time separate legal systems for both countries. It was precisely the status of Scotland in 1608 that seemed ideal to Americans in the 1770's. Finally, Calvin's case had led historically to Whiggism and it was a Whig revolution that the Americans wanted for themselves.

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³² James Wilson, "Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament," *Selected Political Essays*, ed. R. G. Adams (New York, 1930). The first reference to Calvin's case is at p. 66. On p. 75 the dominion theory emerges and from here to the end of the essay on p. 82 Wilson has done little more than link together quotations and doctrines from Calvin's case. See also Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution*.

³³ Edmund Burke, "Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents," *Works*, Bohn ed., I (London, 1770), 386-87.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

AN HISTORIAN'S WORLD: SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON. Edited by *Elizabeth Donnan* and *Leo F. Stock*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1956. Pp. xi, 382. \$6.00.)

"NOTHING," wrote Walpole, "gives so just an idea of an age as genuine letters, nay, history waits for its last seal from them." Walpole, as we are learning voluminously in these days, was himself no mean letter writer. His dictum may betray a slight bias. But on two points at least this volume proves him right. From Miss Donnan's notable biographical introduction I single out two quoted tributes to Dr. Jameson that are abundantly documented in this selection from the correspondence of a distinguished and indefatigable letter writer. The first is from his long-time associate, Professor A. B. Hart: "Leave out what J. Franklin Jameson has done in the study and teaching and writing of History and there would be a bottomless chasm." The second was spoken by R. D. W. Connor, the first Archivist of the United States, when referring to the establishment of a governmental repository for records. "It was he who guided those efforts during most of that long period [more than thirty years]; it was he who finally brought them to fruition. Working through others he never thought of claiming credit for himself, but we know that if any one person can rightfully be called the Founder of the National Archives, John Franklin Jameson was the person." To round out the picture I add a characterization of Jameson, the man, by President James Phinney Baxter III. "Dr. Jameson stands to me for the finest spirit of New England scholarship—a passion for truth, a wonderful simplicity of character, a contempt for the things of the world that might stand in the way of his fulfilling his utmost ideal, and a sense of humor of which I have rarely seen the equal."

From their memories older members of the historical profession can endorse these tributes and find them amply documented in this volume. With its aid they can add others, such as the editing of the *Review* at its beginning and for many years thereafter, the work of the Historical Division of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, the bibliographical enterprises of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, the raising of funds for the *Dictionary of American Biography* and many other undertakings where he was adviser and program maker. Finally there is Jameson the teacher and writer, a lessening role as he gave more and more time to what he modestly called making bricks for others to build with.

To all these achievements this volume adds one more to the profit of history and historians. Dr. Jameson wrote as many as twelve or fifteen letters a day by hand up to 1905. The list of his correspondents in this volume is an honor roll of

names distinguished in the public and scholarly world of the last half century. And there are the lesser breed who submitted questions to one who in their eyes was the final authority. All received an answer even if it meant leaving his desk for a half day of research in the Library of Congress. He could chide those who had not first used the simplest aids, including graduate students who submitted long questionnaires to which complete answers would be the equivalent of writing their theses for them.

These letters spiced with flashes of humor and whimsical light verse are a biography that shows the kindly but critical human being behind an austere and apparently forbidding exterior. Nobody could equal him as raconteur whose stories often turned on a verbatim memory of a New England chronicle or a bit of crossroads unconscious humor.

Here too is the Johns Hopkins University in its beginnings and you wonder how so little in substance could have been offered to minds like Jameson, Woodrow Wilson, Albert Shaw, F. J. Turner, and Charles Haskins. The first years of history teaching at Brown were rewarding, and the headship of the department at Chicago under President Harper was gladly abandoned for the Historical Division of the Carnegie Institution, upon which Jameson had set his heart when it was established. This position and the editorship of the *American Historical Review* gave him the focal position in historical scholarship that justifies Professor Hart's tribute.

Neither of the editors lived to see their work in its final form. It deserves all praise, as does the American Philosophical Society in making it available. It is to the credit of the American Historical Association that it established a fund in Dr. Jameson's name and in December, 1955, dedicated a memorial tablet in the National Archives.

No one interested in the development of a fine mind or of American historical scholarship should fail to read the volume.

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD

DEBATES WITH HISTORIANS. By *Pieter Geyl*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Utrecht. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1955. Pp. viii, 241. 12.40 fl.)

PROFESSOR Geyl of Utrecht, well known in this country, gives us in these essays the considered wisdom of a lifetime on a variety of subjects. The book assembles five papers previously published in "Smith College Studies," others from numerous periodicals, and two never before seen in English. We are indebted to a Dutch publisher for an undertaking which the combined resources of the English-speaking world were unable to accomplish.

There is no unifying subject except history itself. Perhaps three somewhat overlapping themes can be detected. For one thing, the four powerful essays on

Toynbee are here. Professor Geyl has been the chief champion of the historical profession in its skirmish with Toynbee; it is understandable that one who is neither British nor American, yet has a perfect knowledge of English, should have found himself burdened with this disputatious role. At the very least we must feel thanks for his patience, and admiration for his depth, as he pursues Toynbee through the ten volumes. Many would add that they entirely agree with him. A second theme may be called the revision of revisionism, or a careful effort to assess what is valid in recent reconsiderations of old subjects. In this group are the essays on Ranke, Macaulay, Carlyle, Michelet, the French historians of Talleyrand, and the American historians of the Civil War. While always feeling the weight of arguments on diverse sides of the question, Professor Geyl, in sum, thinks that Ranke still stands up pretty well, that Macaulay was indeed insufferably complacent, and that Michelet and Carlyle are guilty as charged. In the paper on Talleyrand (at one time intended to go into his book *Napoleon For and Against*), he is more charitable to that diplomat than most of the French have been. In his one venture into American history, on the causes of the Civil War, he is unable to agree with what he takes to be the revisionist position, that the war need not have come except for the irresponsibility of politicians or agitators.

Here and elsewhere a third theme overlaps. It is the problem of historical inevitability, or, rather, the relative importance of long, slow, vast "forces" and of short-run actions, tangential causes, or the chance of battle. Professor Geyl, who has a sense of the tragic and the uncontrollable in human affairs, sees great forces estranging the American North and South. In his essay on Netherlands history, on the other hand, he argues, against Pirenne and many of the older Dutch writers, that no profound cultural development separated Holland from Belgium, or the Dutch from the Flemings, and that the partition, as we have known it, grew merely out of the military line established by the Prince of Parma. The same disinclination to believe in vast predetermining forces, operating over centuries of time, or in the possibility of showing the existence of such forces by evidence, underlies much of his criticism of Toynbee. He seems to feel that, very often, this taste for the momentous is only the historian's projection of his own day and its problems on the past. It is a deep question, in which both the nature of human events and the nature and usefulness of history are involved.

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R. R. PALMER

HISTORISCHES JAHRBUCH. Im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft, herausgegeben von *Johannes Spörl*. 74. Jahrgang. (Munich and Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1955. Pp. xvi, 784. DM 48.)

THE *Historisches Jahrbuch* for 1955, issued under the auspices of the Görres-Gesellschaft, is conceived as a tribute to Professor Franz Schnabel of Munich, a tribute in which American historians will cheerfully join as being thoroughly

merited and long overdue. Its editor, Johannes Spörl of Munich, has succeeded in enlisting a numerous host of distinguished contributors, Protestants as well as Catholics, among them, beside a majority of German scholars, historians from practically every country of western Europe. The result is a massive volume of nearly eight hundred pages and almost seventy articles, covering the entire sweep of Western history from antiquity down to the Bonn Federal Republic. While the majority of the articles are documentary studies or reinterpretations dealing with the perennial problems of historical research, some, like Hans Sedlmayr's reflections on the limitations of a history of styles in the art history of the nineteenth century and Karl Bosl's article on the "aristocratic character" of the constitutional and social evolution of medieval Europe, seek to be boldly original in methodological approach and in conceptual analysis.

Since it is quite impossible to discuss all these articles, the reviewer is compelled to select the more significant even at the expense of appearing to be arbitrary in his choice. The volume opens with two studies, one on Biblical antiquity, "Nimrod, Kusch und Babel" by Karl Thieme, and the other by von Stauffenberg on the poet Pindar and Sicily. Really outstanding for critical acumen and penetration, however, is Herbert Nesselhauf's study on the religious toleration edict of Licinius of 313, its relation to the nonexistent edict of Milan of 313 and the toleration edict which Emperor Constantine had published in Rome in 312. The upshot of the author's argument is that Licinius took over much of the text of Constantine's edict together with its commitment to the religion of the *summa divinitas*, i.e. Christianity. Equally refreshing and clarifying is the splendid article by the editor, Johannes Spörl, in which he denies that in writing the *Civitas Dei* St. Augustine was the originator of medieval political philosophy; on the contrary what is known as "political Augustinianism" was the product of the theocratic system of the reformist popes of the eleventh century. Equally arresting is Professor Percy Schramm's thorough and reflective inquiry into the methods employed by the kings of Aragon to maintain the unity of the Aragonese kingdom in the face of the centrifugal forces which threatened to disrupt it. Less original but certainly comprehensive in its scope is Professor Franz Dölger's article on the share of Byzantine scholars, notably Vissarion, in transmitting ancient Greek manuscripts to Italian libraries and humanists during the Renaissance. Less novel to American scholars is the thesis of Rudolf Pfeiffer who denies that the humanism of Erasmus was anthropocentric, that Erasmus was ever an advocate of an undogmatic Christianity or that his *philosophia Christi* can simply be equated with Stoic ethics. Useful to many readers will be von Pölnitz's close study on Emperor Charles V, the Asiento of May 28, 1552, and the high price this emperor was compelled to pay to the Fugger banking house for its financial assistance in wartime. Professor Anton Ernstberger, a Wallenstein expert of long standing, contributes an informative study on the continuation of the debate between Wallenstein's defenders and his enemies after the latter's assassination in February, 1634.

F. H. Schubert taps new sources when he examines the state and society of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century as reflected in the dispatches of the Venetian and Swedish ambassadors at The Hague. One of the most charming and attractive studies of the entire volume is by the Swedish historian Nils Ahnlund on the relationship between Queen Christina of Sweden and her chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, a study which continues his earlier volume on Oxenstierna, published in 1940.

If the Swiss historian Werner Näf's article on the king and kingship in the French constitution of 1791 offers little that is new, Eberhard Weis's brilliant study on liberalism and totalitarianism in the educational legislation of the French National Convention in 1792-1793 is easily one of the best contributions of the entire volume. Of particular interest to both students of the eighteenth century and admirers of Jacob Burckhardt is Werner Kaegi's examination of the unpublished manuscript of Burckhardt's lectures, delivered in 1852, on Europe in the age of Frederick the Great. Space forbids a more detailed reference to three articles on various phases of German romanticism, although Leo Just's admirable article on Görres and the Heidelberg romantics should be mentioned. Close logical reasoning and penetrating analysis characterize Theodor Maunz's study on the evolution of the German *Bundesrat* from Bismarck to the Bonn Basic Law. On the other hand, Gerhard Ritter's article on the origins of the single-party state in Europe is cast in such a general mold that, while its suggestiveness cannot be denied, it is lamentably wanting in a vigorously critical edge.

In a summary critical estimate of the entire volume it should be said that Dr. Spörl need not be ashamed to offer, nor need Franz Schnabel be ashamed to accept, this massive *Festschrift*.

Ohio State University

WALTER L. DORN

A HISTORY OF FORTIFICATION FROM 3000 B.C. TO A.D. 1700. By Sidney Toy. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 262. \$5.75.)

THE principal shortcoming of Mr. Toy's latest work is its title. The final chapter is headed "Siege of Rhodes in 1480," and although occasional mention is made of sixteenth-century fortifications in England, Italy, Malta, and elsewhere, this is a book dealing primarily with the fortifications of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Very little attention is given to the modification in the design of fortifications necessitated by the increasing effectiveness of artillery. This transformation, which began late in the fifteenth century, was accomplished during the early sixteenth century principally by Italian engineers, during the Dutch War for Independence by such men as Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), and was finally perfected late in the seventeenth century by the genius of Vauban (1633-1707). Vauban is not even mentioned in the text. In addition, the great majority of the examples cited for the Middle Ages are castles. During the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth

centuries the castle certainly dominated warfare in western Europe, but always in Italy, and later in central and western Europe after the revival of trade, municipal defenses more and more influenced the conduct of war. The siege of the castle was largely replaced by the siege of the city, which necessitated larger and more reliable armies and modified tactics in certain respects. Mr. Toy's book would have been better balanced had it included more examples of medieval municipal defenses.

Within these limits *A History of Fortification* is a most valuable addition to the growing list of modern works on military subjects. No writer whose field in any way touches the military aspects of ancient and medieval history can afford to neglect it. Mr. Toy's plans, of which there are scores, were drafted by him after personal surveys of the sites, and they are models of clarity. The more than one hundred photographs have been well chosen and are handsomely reproduced. The author has made some excursions into military history in which he shows a tendency, rather remarkable at this date, to accept the figures of the medieval chroniclers too much at their face value. These are minor digressions, however, which scarcely detract from the worth of the book in general. As a technical handbook on the development of fortifications in the Near East and Europe from their beginnings to about A.D. 1500, *A History of Fortification* must be regarded as a standard work.

The Woman's College, University of North Carolina

JOHN BEELER

JEWES AND ARABS: THEIR CONTACTS THROUGH THE AGES. By S. D. Goitein, Chairman, School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. (New York: Schocken Books; distrib. by Noonday Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 257. \$4.00.)

THIS volume, written at the request of the publisher, is an expansion of a number of lectures on this general topic given from various platforms in the United States in 1953 and 1954. As a recognized medievalist, the author tries to be objective in his presentation but, living in the present, he finds today's emotions difficult to suppress, as when he categorically states in the introduction that Zionism, "the ideal of returning the Jewish people to its country of origin and to the life of a normal nation on its own soil, certainly was fundamentally sound" (p. xi).

In discussing the origins of Arabs and Israelis, Professor Goitein condemns the idea that Israelis and Arabs came from the deserts of Arabia in successive waves and does not accept the thesis that they belonged to the same race. To him, Semite denotes only a language classification, and since he does not concede the possibility of any common origin of Semitic-speaking peoples he frankly admits that he does "not care to look for a common homeland of its various branches" (p. 23).

The great bulk of the book—pages 46 to 212—discusses the life of the Jews in

the Arab and Muslim civilization of the Middle East from the eighth century to the twentieth, and in the main he has observed that Jews shared society more fully, more equally, and more justly with the Muslims than they did at the same times with the Christians of Europe. Here, and in particular in the medieval period, Professor Goitein is at home with the sources and gives a fine picture of the economic and cultural unity of the two peoples. He considers the high point of Jewish-Arab symbiosis to have been the Hebrew poetry of Muslim lands, especially of Spain, and asserts that the influence of Arabic poetry gave rise to the rich medieval Hebrew poetry.

In conclusion, the author rightly notes that the present State of Israel and the Jewish society established therein are products of nineteenth-century Western thought and development. Likewise, he notes that Arab nations and peoples are today experiencing a similar Western impact, and he optimistically believes that as Westernization proceeds among the Arabs the possibilities of peace between the Arab states and Israel are enhanced. Of the present tensions he does not admit of any fault or responsibility on the part of Israel and sees the only chance of ultimate peace in a long exercise of a stabilizing influence by a Great Power. Since the book is addressed to the American public, the implication is apparent.

Ohio State University

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

ALBUM DE PALEOGRAFÍA HISPANOAMERICANA DE LOS SIGLOS XVI Y XVII. Volume I, INTRODUCCIÓN. Volume II, LÁMINAS. Volume III, TRANSCRIPCIONES. By *Agustín Millares Carlo* and *José Ignacio Mantecón*. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 46. Manuales de Técnica de la Investigación de la Historia y Ciencias Afines, III.] (Mexico, D. F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1955. Pp. x, 187; xv, 93 plates; xvi, 132.)

AMONG contemporary specialists in Spanish and Spanish American paleography none outranks Agustín Millares Carlo, who has now produced, along with Sr. Mantecón, what is unquestionably the best general introduction to the study of Spanish American paleography of the colonial period. In order to acquaint the student with the historical origins and evolutionary problems of the successive Spanish hands, the first volume surveys—concisely, authoritatively, and with much recent bibliographical data—the general development of Spanish writing styles from Roman times on. Major attention is naturally given the later Middle Ages and the *Siglo de Oro*, the periods that established in Spain and the Indies the intricate, sophisticated *escribano* hands, which with their peculiar letter forms, symbols, and contractions demand special preparation on the part of the historian using sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hispanic archival materials. The two dominant styles, the *escritura cortesana* and the *escritura procesal*, receive careful analysis; and abundant illustrations of letter and numeral forms, and extensive

tables of ligatures, signs, and abbreviations, are provided. Pre-Hispanic Indian paleography is briefly treated; and a valuable chapter discusses the norms of transcribing and publishing documents, a matter of prime significance given the wide variations in orthography, punctuation, and textual license modern editors display.

As in all sound paleographical manuals, the aim here is not merely historical or theoretical but didactic and practical. Hence the splendid collection of ninety-three plates forming the second volume, which are excellently reproduced in quite large format and removable for close study. These plates have been selected to illustrate not only different hands but also various types of documents, ranging from royal *cédulas* and governmental and municipal texts (including *cabildo actas*) to ecclesiastical and private items of various types. In the third volume each of these examples is carefully transcribed, and subjected to detailed diplomatic and paleographical analysis as regards its documentary form and the specific peculiarities of its script, abbreviations, and ligatures.

Of the high scientific caliber and utility of this work there can be no question, and it will be warmly welcomed by all students of the period. Two minor criticisms may be submitted. First, more attention might have been given the abundant narrative or literary materials encountered by the working historian in the form of chronicles, *relaciones*, letters, *ordenanzas*, and the like. Secondly, even allowing for the identity (as stressed by the authors) of peninsular and colonial styles, the selection of almost all examples from sources of American origin creates a somewhat unbalanced impression of what one encounters in Spanish and colonial archives. A few notarial texts from such metropolitan agencies as the Consejo de Indias, the Casa de Contratación, the Inquisition, and others, might well have been included.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

THE FIRST RAPPROCHEMENT: ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, 1795-1805. By *Bradford Perkins*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1955. Pp. xii, 257. \$5.00.)

THIS superlative monograph, based principally on American and British archives, is an irenic study of Anglo-American relations from the signature of Jay's Treaty in 1794 until the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in 1803 following the short-lived Peace of Amiens. The author rightly points out that the full significance of the Jay Treaty is not to be realized so much by a close study of the actual negotiations as it is in a measurement of its long-range results as a piece of statecraft advantageous to both countries. For its effects were delayed and cumulative, evidenced in a hopeful drawing together in feeling and interests by Great Britain and the United States. Manifestations of this better understanding,

aside from the actual political settlements of the treaty, the execution of which the author follows in detail, were: a booming wartime commerce, each nation being the other's best foreign customer; the nourishing flow of British capital into American investments; and a tendency to face in a common front the menace of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Chief architect of the First Rapprochement was Lord Grenville, the British foreign minister. The most patient and effective builder was Rufus King, minister of the United States to the Court of St. James's, 1796-1803, bridging the administrations of Presidents Washington, Adams, and Jefferson.

That the First Rapprochement took place under British naval control and suzerainty does not appear to disturb Mr. Perkins any more than it did Alexander Hamilton. While careful to note that the Rule of the War of 1756 was at best an arbitrary British maritime principle, and that impressment was a flagrant British invasion of American sovereignty, he leaves the impression, at least to this reviewer, that the Rule was not altogether unreasonable under the circumstances and seems to be understanding of the necessity, though not the justice, of impressment in order to man the British navy in this crisis for survival of the remaining empire and of constitutional government in the great struggle between the leviathan of the seas and the colossus of the land.

The clumsy diplomacy of James Monroe, King's successor in London, and the position of the United States between reprisals and counter-reprisals of the opposing belligerent maritime systems that followed the renewal of war in 1803 broke down the First Rapprochement and paved the way for the War of 1812. But this unhappy chapter of Anglo-American relations has been much better known to readers of history than the promising rapprochement that had preceded it. Mr. Perkins' scholarly and readable volume will help to adjust our perspective.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

LE XIX^e SIÈCLE: L'APOGÉE DE L'EXPANSION EUROPÉENNE (1815-1914). By *Robert Schnerb*. [*Histoire générale des civilisations*, tome VI.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1955. Pp. 627.)

Now a fifth volume of the projected seven-volume general history of civilizations has appeared, dealing with that rich and revolutionary nineteenth century, the immediate predecessor of our own. And this volume matches, even perhaps exceeds, the excellence of the others. Inspired by the "new history" of the twentieth century, Dr. Schnerb sets out to give us primarily a social, economic, and intellectual history of the world during the nineteenth century. Three fourths of the work is nonpolitical, but that proportion in itself indicates that the political side is not entirely neglected. Only when the reader realizes the universal scope in time and space and emphasis, does he begin to appreciate the masterful way that

the author has handled a herculean task. Just from the point of view of organization one can see the great difficulties involved. The author chose four chronological parts (1815-1854, 1854-1871, 1871-1900, 1900-1914) and one part (just before the last) called "Civilizations outside Europe," which covers, with deft emphasis, insight, and detail, the civilizations of Eskimos, Anglo-Saxons, Latin Americans, Moslems, Africans, South Sea Islanders (*Océaniens*), and finally Indians and Far Eastern peoples. Within the four chronological parts are twenty-seven chapters which—in addition to some reference to internal politics—discuss agriculture, industrialization, capitalism, trade-unionism, urbanism, socialism, nationalism, population movements, imperialism, and the intellectual movements of romanticism, realism, science, and relativism. Diplomatic history is the only serious deficiency, receiving only thirteen pages of discussion. This work becomes, then, a veritable compendium of factual detail on a century of world history; but it must be added that it is so well organized and so skillfully and clearly written that most chapters sustain the reader's interest to the end.

Perhaps because of editorial policy the book seems to be mainly narration without explanation. All the people, events, ideas, statistics, and great movements march forth in well-organized and serried ranks, but there is little correlation, little indication of interrelationships, of causal antecedents, or of meaningful trends. For example, the great world-wide forces and conditions underlying modern imperialism and war (which, by the way, far transcend the myopic myth of capitalist causation) are given no transmission to connect motor and wheels. The bricks are there, all in neat little piles, but the mortar is lacking. We have the *Welt*, but no *Weltanschauung*.

However, certain emphases in treatment may reveal some of the author's unconscious evaluations. For example, in this world-wide history of a whole century, France is the most-discussed country, even though there are eleven other countries with larger populations, most of them with just as highly developed cultures. Likewise, of all the great men of thought and action the world around, Karl Marx receives the most, and not unfavorable, mention (on thirty-one pages); while Darwin and Darwinism appear on only two pages. I feel sure the author did not mean it the way it sounds, but in his selective bibliography he says he only chose those works "worthy of the reader's attention . . . therefore in general mention has not been made of works in a foreign language" (p. 546). Even though he may not have meant to convey the above imputation, it is regrettable that his bibliography contains only French works. The high value of this volume and of the whole series to which it belongs indicates, naturally, that it is going to be read by many others than Frenchmen. Therefore it is hoped that the bibliography of the next edition will list foreign as well as French works, especially when dealing with the history of countries other than France.

Only the highest praise can be given for the fine illustrations and the significant and useful maps and charts. The volume as a whole will remain for many

years one of the essential standard works of reading and reference on the nineteenth century.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Volume VI, LE XIX^e SIÈCLE. II. DE 1871 A 1914: L'APOGÉE DE L'EUROPE. By *Pierre Renouvin*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1955. Pp. 401. 1,100 fr.)

WITH this volume, the second in the series which Professor Renouvin has written in addition to his work as editor, this important and highly useful study of international relations nears completion. The last volume on the period since 1914, also by Professor Renouvin, is in preparation.

The volume under consideration is what one would expect from so distinguished an authority on European diplomacy as Professor Renouvin and maintains the high quality of his previous volume on the period from 1815 to 1871 (*AHR*, July, 1955). Recalling that he has covered much of this ground before, Professor Renouvin devotes his attention mainly to interpretation rather than to a detailed exposition of each crisis. His interest is in what is behind the crisis. He presents "un tableau" of the relations between Europe and the world before the First World War. The result is a synthesis of a complicated period which is notable for its mature scholarship, careful organization, and great clarity.

The central themes are European expansion in the world and the effects of nationalism not only in causing rivalries between states but also antagonisms between peoples within certain states. Serious attention is given to economic rivalries and their part in building up antagonisms, but the author wisely refrains from exaggerating the economic factor. He realizes that sentiment and ideas are also important. His discussion of psychological factors, of the part that sentiment and passion played, is valuable. Commendable is the large amount of attention to the role of Asia, Africa, and the American states in international relations. The bibliographies at the close of each chapter are useful and help atone for an almost complete lack of footnotes. Many short studies in the reviews have been used in addition to the latest monographs.

This reviewer has little but praise for so excellent a volume. One can always find minor points in such a work where some additional elaboration or explanation might be useful. Some readers will doubtless wish that the author had dealt in a less summary fashion with the question of German responsibility for the coming of the First World War, even though he has written extensively on this subject at an earlier date. If diplomatic history cannot be written solely from the diplomatic documents, it is equally difficult to write without them. Undoubtedly the appearance of additional Italian documents will warrant some revisions or amplifications of the discussion of Italian policy. Only three typographical errors were noticed in the bibliographies.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

MY MISSION TO SPAIN: WATCHING THE REHEARSAL FOR WORLD WAR II. By *Claude G. Bowers*, Former United States Ambassador to Spain. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1954. Pp. xvi, 437. \$6.00.)

WHEN, on the first of June, 1933, Claude Bowers presented his credentials as the ambassador of the United States to the Spanish Republic, there had arrived in Madrid an experienced political observer and champion of democratic government whose diplomatic mission was to give him unrivaled opportunities to see at close range the tragic developments of the next six years. Our new envoy had had a distinguished career as journalist, editorial writer, and historian; a man of uncompromising honesty and integrity, he had long demonstrated a penetrating grasp of politics. His book fills a long-felt need in tracing the process by which antidemocratic forces, both domestic and foreign, worked to undermine and destroy the second Spanish Republic.

This book is immensely useful for an understanding of many of the factors leading up to the Second World War, as well as for Spain's internal politics during those fateful years. One of its merits is the author's vivid characterizations of individuals and his account of Spain and Spaniards, based on frequent journeyings all over the peninsula and on a fondness for the country and people which those who learn to know Spain invariably acquire. His eyewitness treatment of the period of the "black biennium" of the Republic dispels the propaganda myth of the widespread leftist disorders. Likewise his analysis of the party maneuvers and the establishment of the Popular Front government are indispensable to a comprehension of the times. Apologists for the rightist Revolution have so constantly raised the Communist specter that it is valuable to see the contemporary absence of Communism from the apprehensions of the Right (pp. 54, 58, 92). Similarly this book makes clear the moderate (center and left-of-center) composition of the Popular Front ministry and the swing away from the left in the victory of the moderate Indalecio Prieto over the direct-actionist Largo Caballero for control of the Socialist party in June, 1936 (pp. 209-10, 239). We need to be reminded today that the extremists on both sides were thinking in terms of *coups d'état*, while the Popular Front was defending constitutional processes and was a government of republicans.

As the first half of the book deals with the period before the army insurrection, Mr. Bowers in the second half treats the conspiracy and the Civil War under the heading of "The Axis War on Spanish Democracy." Here he stands squarely by the conviction that Franco Spain was totalitarian and fascist from the start and that "it was no civil war in the usual meaning of the term, but a war of oppression openly waged by Hitler and Mussolini" (p. 354). The fact and the nature of Nazi and Fascist participation are now abundantly clear, not only from the contemporary evidence, from Il Duce's speeches, but also from the German and Italian records available after the end of World War II. For this and the earlier periods the author utilizes his dispatches to the State Department and his private diary but gives

insufficient references since the book lacks footnotes. He is bitter in showing the farce of nonintervention by the western democracies, although he is rather gentler on American policy than on French and British.

It is in the treatment of the war itself, particularly the operational side, that this work is disappointing. There are minor errors of fact and spelling and some confusions of individual operations. It must be noted, however, that the author is primarily concerned with the diplomatic side of the struggle. Mr. Bowers' opinion of the part the Communists played in the war (pp. 317-19) makes a good point but leaves out of account the rise in strength of the Communist battalions of the militia explicable by their discipline, which was tighter than the haphazard Anarcho-Syndicalist units, and by their enlistment for the duration rather than on individual whim, both of which appealed to serious Loyalists. Likewise he minimizes the advisory and training aid given by the Soviets. On the whole, this book falls short of being the definitive history of the Spanish Civil War. It does, however, possess great merit as first-hand testimony on a highly critical period. It is the raw material of history, a *source vivante*, with passion for democracy its bias, skillfully and interestingly written, and with the note of strong conviction.

Amherst College

E. DWIGHT SALMON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1939. In five volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publications 5826 and 5849.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1955. Pp. iii, 883; v, 905. \$4.00, \$3.50.)

THESE volumes do not repeat the documents published in the *Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan, 1931-1941*, Volumes I and II, but they do fill in the gaps. They also supplement Ambassador Grew's personal memoirs and the accounts of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

Nothing new or startling is revealed, but the painstaking record shows the extent and the accuracy of information pouring into Washington from every vantage point. The high standards of analysis shown in the departmental memorandums of Hornbeck, Hamilton, Salisbury, Ballantine, Adams, and Atcheson are matched by the effective reporting from Grew and Dooman in Japan and from Johnson, Peck, Gauss, Lockhart, Caldwell, Josselyn, and others in China. How many of their midnight telegrams showed a devotion over and above the call of duty and how many times they came into possession of "diplomatic secrets" passed between foreign offices and chancelleries "in strictest confidence." The United States was well served in the Far East in 1939.

The critical year 1939 was an unusual testing time for methods designed to protect and promote the national interest, and for the implementation of ideals

which are at the heart of that interest. Japan halted its overtures for a German alliance because of the German betrayal in signing the German-Russian non-aggression pact; it abandoned temporarily its hostile attitude toward the U.S.S.R. and toned down its intemperate opposition to the "democracies" in China. Japan could not find a magic formula for elusive peace in China or for the substitution of a profitable new order for its ineffectual fighting. Two governments in Japan toppled during the year, and at year's end the days of a third were numbered. Japan floundered between extremists and moderates and sought in vain for a statesman of the caliber of Prince Ito (III, 604).

The United States continued its protests against unwarranted interference and serious restriction of American rights by the Japanese military in China. Japanese excuses were flimsy, but Americans were stymied by their own unreadiness for war and the involvement of their allies in Europe. The frustrated Japanese tried every excuse and device to displace foreign interests in China, particularly in the concessions at Shanghai, Kulangsu (Amoy), and Tientsin. They presented demands and used veiled threats, incidents, and quasi-blockades to obtain benefits which were impossible of achievement by measures short of war. The British were conciliatory toward the Japanese; the Americans were cautiously resistant. They kept the armaments program rolling at home, they refused to withdraw their garrisons and gunboats from China, and they maintained their powerful fleet in the Pacific. They canceled a trade treaty with Japan but they shied away from economic sanctions. Some American officials counseled a continued policy of patient negotiation, some felt that sanctions in 1939 were premature, and others felt strongly that economic sanctions against Japan would be futile without a willingness to use ultimate force. Meanwhile China showed disappointment and perturbation at the overly slow and cautious attitude and actions of the United States, appealed for more help and more credits, and hoped for intervention of the United States in defense of the concepts of the treaties (III, 236).

It is well to remember the chaos in China in 1939 (III, 148, 265, IV, 398, as examples) and it is interesting to note the American misgivings at this early date about Kuomintang-Chinese Communist relations. On August 13, 1939, Ambassador Nelson Johnson reported "a notable intensification of the long-standing issue between the Kuomintang and the liberal and so-called communist groups." He kept the department informed about the fissures in the wall of the united front against Japan (particularly III, 307-10) and cautioned that "there is reason to believe that if both the Kuomintang and the Communists survive the present hostilities there is a prospect of a bitter struggle between the two groups for control of post-war China" (III, 196). Nothing in the *Foreign Relations, 1939*, sheds further significant light upon or denies the validity of the observations of the White Paper (particularly p. 53) on Chinese political events and psychology of that period.

Stanford University

CLAUDE A. BUSS

ROOSEVELT Y LA BUENA VECINDAD. By *Francisco Cuevas Cancino*. (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de cultura económica, 1954. Pp. 551.)

THIS thought-provoking book is not primarily a study of the Latin-American policy of the United States. Rather it concerns itself with the evolution of the "universal concept of good neighborliness" as an ideal of international conduct, from its inception in the mind of Franklin Roosevelt to the point where it achieved universal acceptance as a desirable ethical standard.

Mr. Cuevas is aware that neither the term "good neighbor" nor many of the policies later associated with it were original with Roosevelt. But he is convinced that Roosevelt added the moral element which gave that familiar concept permanence and universality when projected upon the screen of world politics through Roosevelt's own dynamic personality. The author believes, therefore, that Roosevelt deserves recognition as the true creator of the "universal concept of good neighborliness."

The rural "neighborhood" at Hyde Park, Endicott Peabody, and Woodrow Wilson were among influences in the development of the Rooseveltian concept. But it was, the author believes, in the period between the Roosevelt's illness and his first inauguration that he became cognizant of the full implications of the Christian virtues of love and charity—virtues which, when accepted as norms for relations among nations, were to be the essence of the "Good Neighbor Policy" enunciated in the 1933 inaugural address. Roosevelt was not stating a policy; he was defining a moral attitude which would guide the United States in its foreign relations.

The full field of foreign relations under Roosevelt is examined in order to find where "good neighborliness" was indeed applied and where it was not. The author finds that the concept received its greatest application in the Western Hemisphere. Awareness that it did not fit into the realistic politics of other areas led Roosevelt to develop a more positive "integral good neighborliness," expressed in his quarantine speech in 1937. According to Mr. Cuevas, the example of the United States in the role of Good Neighbor and the appeal of Roosevelt's personality influenced the nations of the world, and, following the explicit adoption of this concept by members of the Inter-American System in 1942, it was eventually embodied in the United Nations Charter. Thus did the ideal of "good neighborliness" become a guiding principle of international law, the contents of which Mr. Cuevas attempts to define in a concluding chapter.

Such a necessarily oversimplified summary does not do justice to the complexity of Mr. Cuevas' work, which is based on research in the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park and upon a variety of pertinent published material. He is fully aware of the problems faced by one who deals with a controversial figure. Considering the vastness of his theme and the complexity of the period with which he deals, Mr. Cuevas has on the whole done a commendable piece of work. Nevertheless, in his attempt to define the content of "good neighborliness" it seems to me that he has

attributed a more coherent and profound moral philosophy to Roosevelt than he actually had and that he has overemphasized this moral element both as a motivation for Roosevelt's policies and as the factor responsible for the success of the "good neighbor" concept.

Be that as it may, Mr. Cuevas' work is an interpretation of importance. By dealing with "good neighborliness" as an ideal and viewing it from the perspective of its world-wide significance, Mr. Cuevas has made a valuable contribution.

University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT N. BURR

Ancient and Medieval History

THE SLAVE SYSTEMS OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY. By *William L. Westermann*, Late Professor Emeritus of History, Columbia University. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XL.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1955. Pp. xii, 180. \$3.00.)

THIS monograph is an enlargement of the long article which Westermann contributed to the *Realenzyklopädie*, Supplementband VI (1935), coll. 893-1068. Since then much new material has been published, not least by Westermann himself. The result is that, while the sections on the period before Alexander and on the Roman Republic have needed only minor additions and corrections, those on the Hellenistic Age and on the Roman Empire have been rewritten and greatly augmented. The final chapter, "Slavery and Christianity," is new, since Westermann had devoted only one column to this in the article. Among many notable topics which receive fresh treatment in the book are the recently published Aramaic documents illustrating slavery in the Jewish colony at Elephantine during the later fifth century; the Delphic manumissions and the indentured service (*paramone*) to which the newly liberated slave bound himself; and a long discussion, important because it illustrates certain differences between the Greek and the Oriental attitude to slavery, in which Westermann explains the nature of the *katochoi* in the cult of Serapis.

The book is valuable not only for the full and accurate presentation of the evidence for Greek and Roman slavery but for the convincing arguments by which Westermann rebuts some hoary assumptions and interpretations. Thus, for example, he points out (p. 37) that the importance of Delos as a slave-mart after 166 B.C. has been greatly exaggerated. He confirms (pp. 120 ff.) Meyer's and Wilcken's contention that in Egypt, for which our evidence is unusually full, during the empire few slaves were employed in agriculture, and even in industry servile labor was relatively unimportant. He also shows up (pp. 152 ff.) the fallacies inherent in many earlier discussions of the Christian attitude to slavery, interpretations resulting from abolitionist fervor (Wallon, Thérout) or from a too theological approach to the subject (Allard).

A few points of detail may be mentioned: The inventories in the Minoan linear B script show that slaves of both sexes were to be found in Mycenaean society (see Ventris in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXIII [1953], 96). On page 41, note 32: the reference to Livy should be 33, 28. Page 45: Westermann might have pointed out that the description of a manumitted slave in Athens as "dwelling in Peiraeus" exactly parallels the official description of resident aliens as "residing in the deme x." Page 64, note 18: "naively motivated by Livy" is an unfair and misleading comment, since the passage referred to is in a speech. For the slaves employed on Roman aqueducts (pp. 88 and 110) a reference to Thomas Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (pp. 24-25), might have been expected. Page 130, col. 2: The views of Eremian and particularly of Dmitrev read, to me at least, suspiciously like Soviet propaganda. Page 137, note 39: there is a lacuna, which Westermann does not indicate, after *multitudo* in the quotation from Ammianus, so that the exact sense of the passage must remain doubtful. Westermann seems to me to read more into it than it will bear. Page 142: Sidonius was bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, never of Massilia, and Salvian remained a presbyter to his death. The volume, as was to be expected of a monograph published by the American Philosophical Society, is finely printed, but the task of seeing the book through the press after the author's death has been performed very indifferently. Although a list of abbreviations is given at the beginning, it is not consistently followed in the notes, and the same book is often cited in two or three different ways on the same page or on consecutive pages. There are far too many misprints—I have noted over eighty; more particularly, the number of missing accents in Greek quotations or in the titles of French and German books is inexcusable.

It is sad that Westermann did not live to see the publication of this book. But all who use it will be grateful to him for what will be a standard work for many years to come—the fruit of half a lifetime of research and reflection.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

L'ART DE LA DÉFORMATION HISTORIQUE DANS LES COMMENTAIRES DE CÉSAR. By *Michel Rambaud*, Maître de conférences à l'Université de Lyon. [Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Lettres, III, 23.] (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1953. Pp. 410.)

M. RAMBAUD, whose valuable *Cicéron et l'histoire romaine* also appeared in 1953, has made an important contribution to a question long and often discussed. Moreover, it is a pleasure to read his book, which is almost always lucid, logical, well informed, and intelligent, and often entertaining and even convincing; M. Rambaud would have been an effective advocate and prosecutor in the courts of Caesar's time.

His view that the *Gallic War*, as well as the *Civil War*, is carefully contrived political propaganda is not in itself novel. What distinguishes his study from those

of his predecessors is the extent and intensity of his skepticism and the careful analysis with which he supports it. He believes that both works were designed from beginning to end to present an arrogant, brutal, completely cynical and ruthless, and occasionally blundering Caesar as he wished to appear: as a general who was invariably successful, rapid, and resourceful and as a popular political leader who, despite many injuries, was magnanimous and clement. He accomplished his purpose by careful arrangement of events in his narrative, by emphasis and suppression, and by literary devices of many kinds. The result is that a superficially simple, straightforward account is almost everywhere misleading: for example, his opponents, both Gauls and Romans, are constantly misrepresented. In general, wherever it is possible to disbelieve Caesar, Rambaud does so.

However gratifying this might be to those forced to read Caesar as school children, a natural reaction after a time is to read Rambaud with some of his own skepticism; he sometimes weakens a good case by trying to prove too much. Nevertheless, he presents very strong arguments for his main point, that the *Gallic War* is throughout a work of propaganda and must be used with great caution. In addition, there are many stimulating and valuable discussions of individual episodes and topics; he might well have included among these a more careful study of the question for what readers Caesar's propaganda was designed and a comparison with the propaganda of the coins. Historians of the late Republic will find much of importance in this book and should give careful consideration to its conclusions.

State University of Iowa

J. F. GILLIAM

FOUNDATIONS OF THE CONCILIAR THEORY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MEDIEVAL CANONISTS FROM GRATIAN TO THE GREAT SCHISM. By *Brian Tierney*, Catholic University of America. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume IX.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 280. \$5.00.)

ONE aspect of medieval ecclesiastical life which has been largely neglected, especially by American medievalists, is the canon law. Less than a decade ago Dr. S. Kuttner of the Catholic University of America (*Speculum*, XXIV [1949]) called attention to the "need and the opportunity" and the present volume by one of his colleagues is a significant step toward filling the need. As Dr. Tierney explains in his introduction this is a special study of a particular aspect of the canon law, analyzing those passages in the writings of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century canonists which proved useful to the conciliarists of the late fourteenth century. It is the author's contention that the fourteenth-century conciliar theories, far from being an extraneous development on the part of publicists or a borrowing from the governmental practices of contemporary monarchies, were a "logical culmination of ideas that were embedded in the law and doctrine of the Church

itself." The kernel of the conciliarist argument, the distinction between the church as a whole (*congregatio fidelium*) and the Roman church and the supremacy of the former, Dr. Tierney argues, can be found in various statements of twelfth- and thirteenth-century canonists. Of especial importance was the development of the idea of corporation and the theory of the prelate as proctor of his corporation. This was first applied to local churches, then to the Roman church, and finally to the church as a whole. Thus despite the manifest emphasis on the papal plenitude of power, the medieval canonists provided arguments for an entirely different concept of ecclesiastical government. Not that the conciliarists deliberately distorted the meaning of the earlier writers. Rather they were influenced by contemporary conditions and above all by the emergency of the schism of 1378. Since hitherto no one has fully explored the canonistic sources of the conciliar movement, Dr. Tierney's study is of considerable significance. In addition to analyses of the writings of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century canonists, there is a full chapter on Franciscus Zabarella, whose work, the author feels, provides a particularly appropriate conciliar synthesis since he was at once a cardinal, a conciliarist, and a distinguished canonist.

Not only does this volume cast new light on the origins of the conciliar movement, it also clarifies much of the legal thinking which went into the structure of the papal monarchy in the preceding centuries. It is the opinion, therefore, of the present reviewer—who writes, incidentally, as a historian and not as a student of canon law—that Dr. Tierney's study is to be recommended to all those interested in the institutional development of the medieval church and not simply to the students of law. It is a careful, well-documented, and very suggestive piece of research which will add further distinction to the revived "Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought."

New York University

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

HERRSCHAFTSZEICHEN UND STAATSSYMBOLIK: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER GESCHICHTE VOM DRITTEN BIS ZUM SECHZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT. Band II. By Percy Ernst Schramm, et al. [Monumenta Germaniae historica, Schriften, XIII/2.] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag. 1955. Pp. xvi, 376-688, 40 plates. DM 48.)

THE second volume of Professor Schramm's *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, consisting of twelve *Abschnitte*, continues the series of *Einzelstudien*, sixteen of which appeared in the first volume (*AHR*, LX [July, 1955], 873). The numbering of the *Beiträge* as set forth in the original *Inhaltsübersicht* has been somewhat altered because of the unexpected abundance of materials, necessitating the shifting of contributions originally intended for Volume II to Volume III or separate publication (see *AHR*, LXI [January, 1956], 380). There is to appear an additional *Beitrag* concerning the "Kronenbrauch des Mittelalters." It is unfortu-

nate that this, as well as Broeckler's "Stephanskron" (now to come in Volume III), could not have been included in the present volume, along with numbers 17, 18, 19, and 25, as an ensemble since, together, they provide a varied and interesting study of crowns in the Middle Ages. By including these *Beiträge* among his *Einzelstudien*, Professor Schramm has recognized that the history of the medieval crown must be associated with the ancient world, both East and West, as well as with the German crown as it appeared in the time of the *Völkerwanderung*. Moreover, in his "Die Kronen des frühen Mittelalters" he has demonstrated how the significance of the crown has been complicated by the frequent metaphorical references to the *corona* in the Old and New Testaments, such as "the crown of everlasting life."

This general survey is followed by Josef Deér's excellent study of the feminine crowns of Byzantium, Persia, and the West. The mingling of the Byzantine and Persian-Islamic crown-shapes was to play a significant part in the development of the emblems of sovereignty in the West. Prior to the thirteenth century the camelaucum-crown, both in Byzantium and the West, was worn only by the emperor and never by the empress. Subsequently, however, in the era of the Comneni and the Hohenstaufen, this form of headdress is to be seen in the feminine crowns as, for example, in that of the empress Beatrice, spouse of Friedrich Barbarossa, as depicted on a Gelnhausen coin. In this sense also must be interpreted the headdress of Irene, queen of Philipp of Swabia, mentioned by Arnold of Lübeck (MG. SS. XXI, 214): "regio diademate non tamen coronata, sed circulata processit." Deér recognizes also other Oriental influences such as that of the diadem represented in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, characterized by its club-like tassels suspended in twos and threes from the panels of its horizontal hoop, and reappearing in such crowns as that which has been erroneously called the "Stephanskron."

Abschnitt No. 19, by Reinhard Elze, deals with the so-called iron crown of Monza, which legend has associated with the coronation of the sovereigns of Italy. The author treats both the genesis of this legend and the problem of the "iron crown" as a whole. A joint contribution of Schramm and Hansmartin Decker-Hauff is an exhaustive study of the "Reichskron" constructed for Otto I and referred to in the early thirteenth century by Walther von der Vogelweide in a passage in which he describes Philipp of Swabia as bearing "des riches zepter und die kröne," and by Heinrich von Krolewitz in the mid-thirteenth century as "des riches kröne." This is of special interest not only as a masterful study of the history of this crown but, above all, as an illustration of Professor Schramm's contention as to the importance of both *Bild- und Wortzeugnisse* in the study of *Herrschaftszeichen*. A noteworthy example of this is his employment of a passage from Liutprand's *Historia Ottonis*, "miro ornatu novoque apparatu," as a means of identifying the "Reichskron" with Otto I.

As a study in methodology *Abschnitt* No. 27, concerning the flag and its kin-

dred emblems, deserves special attention. In this the author emphasizes the difficulties arising both from the paucity of "Überresten" and from the confused employment of terms such as *vexilla*, *aquilae*, *baniere*, *pennon*, etc., during the Middle Ages. The remaining *Beiträge* dealing with such emblems as the "Heilige Lanze," "Attila's Schwert," etc., although brief, reveal the same perfection of scholarly technique as that which characterizes the work as a whole. For it is perhaps the supreme achievement of both Volumes I and II of this work that they bear abundant witness to the fact that a baffling and obscure field of historical research is not wholly impenetrable.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

THE ENGLISH INTERVENTION IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN THE TIME OF EDWARD III AND RICHARD II. By P. E. Russell. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 611. \$8.00.)

ANYONE who has been concerned with the diplomatic history of western Europe during the medieval period will appreciate the enormous task Professor Russell undertook in this study and will pay tribute to his brilliant accomplishment of what he set out to do. As the author points out, chronicles are practically useless for diplomatic history, particularly when that history is of a "secret" nature: the historian is faced with the necessity of rummaging in the archives and of laboriously piecing together the remnants he finds there. This is especially difficult when, as in the instance of the Castilian chancery archives in this study, the documents have perished. The story must then be put together from other sources. This Professor Russell has done, and the net effect of his labors has resulted in a work of scholarship as basic to its subject as was Déprez's *Les préliminaires de la guerre de cent ans* to the causes of the Hundred Years' War. Further, he has achieved all this in a style that makes a serious historical inquiry read like a fascinating novel. There is no doubt of the truth of the author's claim that "future investigations cannot make necessary any substantial alteration to the narrative of events as I have given them here. That there may be disagreement with the interpretation to be put on some of the facts now disclosed for the first time I am well aware." This reviewer takes issue with the preceding statement. Professor Russell's interpretation is not likely to have to be revised in its essentials.

What he has written is a searching analysis of a great diplomatic failure—that of England to keep the Iberian kingdoms out of the French orbit during crucial phases of the Hundred Years' War. The feeble dénouement of English policy was the Portuguese alliance, the oldest in modern diplomatic history, while the real plum, which was lost to the French, was the Castilian navy. English policy was Lancastrian, and Professor Russell makes clear for the first time that this policy had an essentially constitutional implication, being equated with the strong monarchical position of Pedro I and opposed to the appeasement of feuda-

tories by Enrique of Trastámara. Curiously enough, this is almost the antithesis of the Lancastrian domestic position when Henry IV ascended the English throne in 1399; but Professor Russell is not concerned with historical parallels.

This work is documented with an appendix of twelve significant *pièces justificatives*, all but two taken from Spanish archives. There is also a useful glossary of Spanish terms and a select bibliography, which is supplemented in the preface by a survey of archival material.

Professor Russell has opened a fresh field for medieval historians. What he has done for the domestic and international position and problems of the Iberian kingdoms in the last three quarters of the fourteenth century must now be supplemented by a similar study for the period 1259–1337, and it is to be hoped that he will see fit to undertake it.

Emory University

G. P. CUTTINO

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND. Volume II, THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Dom David Knowles*, Fellow of Peterhouse and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 407. \$8.50.)

THIS volume continues the story of English monasticism begun by Professor Knowles with the publication in 1940 of *The Monastic Order in England, 943–1216*, and followed in 1948 by the first volume of *The Religious Orders in England*, bringing the tale down to 1340. Originally Professor Knowles hoped to complete his synthesis in two volumes, but the task proved greater than he anticipated, and this current volume, covering the period from the Benedictine Constitutions (1336) to approximately the coming of the Tudors, leaves the last years before the Dissolution to a final volume. Based on wide reading in the sources and in monographic material, the book is as valuable a contribution as the earlier volumes and is written in the same clear style. The author's sympathetic understanding of the monastic life is apparent, as is also his critical ability as a historian.

The book is divided into two parts: the historical framework and the institutional background. In the first part the author treats of a variety of topics, covering such matters as the religious at the university, monastic architecture, distinguished monks, theological controversy, criticism of the religious, spiritual life, developments within the orders, the alien priories, the effects of the Great Schism, the role of Henry V, and the second century of visitation. That the chapters hang together loosely the author himself is aware: he states in the preface that a continuous narrative was impossible, partly owing to a lack of chronicle and biographical sources and still more to the nature of the growth of the religious orders whereby "the historian has no longer a thread or pattern that he may take as guide."

Perhaps the most interesting of the chapters in the first part are those on theo-

logical trends and on criticism of the religious in the fourteenth century. Ockhamism is seen as a dissolvent tendency, though definitive judgment on the man and his thought must await further research. Knowles feels that Wyclif, too, lacks a definitive biography, though he pays tribute to the contributions of Workman and McFarlane. Despite his opinion that Wyclif's thought is "perverse," Professor Knowles presents a masterly and objective sketch of this controversial figure, and, noting the agreement between Wyclif, Langland, and Chaucer in their opinions of monks and friars, he concludes unhappily that there was indeed "corruption among the Mendicants" and "worldliness among the black monks." Only when he ascribes the near-extinction of Lollardy in the fifteenth century as perhaps largely due to the "simple, sound, and effective attack of Netter" rather than to the coercive action of authority does Professor Knowles seem to lose his objectivity and succumb to a partial view.

The second part of the volume has chapters on recruitment and life within the monastery, the election and privileges of abbot or prior, and the numbers of the religious. The literary work of the monks, their influence on contemporary society, the relation of the monasteries to the vicarage system, and the obligation of abbot or prior for military service or attendance at parliament are considered, and one chapter each is devoted to the monastic economy from 1320 to 1480 and to monastic libraries, an interesting and important subject. In a final chapter of summary Professor Knowles concludes that the monks, even in these centuries of lessening influence, "were still a great social force," and that the monastic buildings were the "outward image of wealth and power." Not finding the monasteries "notably less observant or more decadent in the fifteenth century," he seems puzzled to account for the lack of distinction and the lack of any great religious figure in the period. Surely the disciplinary action of authority with the threat of dire consequences for those who failed to conform produced an atmosphere little conducive to creative thought and the waning of the Middle Ages opened opportunities for leadership in vocations other than the religious.

Three appendixes, a useful bibliography, and a good index conclude the volume. In the bibliography are listed a dozen unpublished dissertations which Professor Knowles has used and to whose authors he generously acknowledges his indebtedness. Among the valuable features of the volume are the copious footnotes with their critical evaluations of scholarly publications and stimulating suggestions of areas needing further research.

It is to be regretted that Professor Knowles still devotes no space to the nunneries, principally, he says in his preface, for lack of information on their spiritual life. Scattered though the material may be, there is need for a scholarly treatment of the conventual life for women in medieval England. However, we are indebted to Professor Knowles for a useful and very readable book which fills a gap in historical literature.

Rockford College

ISABEL R. ABBOTT

JOHN ŽIŽKA AND THE HUSSITE REVOLUTION. By Frederick G. Heymann. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 521. \$9.00.)

THE problem of the essential nature of the Hussite revolution has been a most controversial subject since it broke out in 1419. For long after the internal division between the "conservative" Praguers and the "radical" Taborites was, if not healed, at least ended at the battle of Lipany in 1434, the polemic was between those who favored Hussites and German publicists. It was to be expected that the Czechs would defend the Hussite cause, and that the Germans would oppose it. This was, with some notable exceptions, the case. Ernest Denis brought the matter on to the broader plane of modern European interest with his *Huss et la Guerre des Hussites* (Paris, 1878), but his documentation, though for the time thorough, had not yet been subjected to much monographic criticism. This was to be the work of the subsequent generations of scholarship. Since that time the bibliography on the period of Žižka and his immediate successors has grown to formidable proportions, and the life and thought of almost every individual mentioned in any of the more reliable chronicles of the wars have been subjected to meticulous examination and re-examination from various points of view.

Dr. Heymann has had before him almost all of this tremendous literature. The resultant account, the life of the greatest Hussite general, is impressively thorough. Quite properly Mr. Heymann prefaces his full treatment with a translation of almost the whole of the "Very Pretty Chronicle about John Žižka, the servant of King Wenceslas," which was written, between 1434 and 1436, by someone who knew the personalities and events of which he wrote at first hand. As it is probable that this account was used by the so-called "Ancient Chronicles" (*Starší letopisové*), its importance as a primary source is capital. Thereafter Mr. Heymann follows Žižka and the events of the revolution in chronological order, sometimes, where the sources are copious, almost day by day, without losing the thread of development in the separate areas of tension: Prague, the capital and hub of the conservative Hussite movement; Tabor and the theocracy of the "radical" party; the Bohemian nobility, a large part, if not most of whom remained sympathetic to the court tradition and, actively or passively, sided with Sigismund. Much attention is given to the military history of the revolution, and this is among the most satisfactory parts of the book. The studies of Toman, Frankenberger, von Wulf, and Urbánek have been most thoroughly utilized. Mr. Heymann, by a clear presentation of terrain and timing, so important to the genius of Žižka, has succeeded in making these scenes come alive. A recent Czech study by Jan Durdík, *Husitské vojenství* (Prague, 1954), was apparently not available to Mr. Heymann.

Throughout his work the author, rejecting the thesis that the struggle was essentially a class struggle, has striven to delineate the character and motivation of each of the leading personalities of the drama. Some of them remain puzzling: Jan Želivský, the radical priest who made himself the virtual dictator of conserva-

tive Prague, and, with only a slight change in tactics, might have continued so for many years; Lord Čeněk of Wartenberg, the regent of the kingdom who twice aligned himself with the Hussites and twice betrayed them; Jacobellus of Stříbro, who, from being Hus's direct and undisputed heir, recedes into the background for years before the death of Žižka in 1424.

The interweaving of the Polish-Lithuanian dynasty in Bohemian affairs during these years is fairly well told. One could have wished to see drawn upon more of the rich Polish monographic and source material in these sections. Witold and Korybut have been the subject of a considerable number of serious studies. Mr. Heymann has not attempted to fit the intellectual and theological currents which were active in Bohemia after the death of Hus into his picture. Perhaps this should be the object of a separate study. The relation of ideology to politics, however, in these years was close, and may at times explain otherwise perplexing developments. Mr. Heymann has provided, in this book written with warmth and charm, a careful and reliable account of the political and military framework of the history of these twenty eventful years. The ideological revolution which shook fifteenth-century Bohemia and indeed all of central Europe will now be easier to follow and depict.

University of Colorado

S. HARRISON THOMSON

THE CRISIS OF THE EARLY ITALIAN RENAISSANCE: CIVIC HUMANISM AND REPUBLICAN LIBERTY IN AN AGE OF CLASSICISM AND TYRANNY. In two volumes. By *Hans Baron*, Research Fellow and Bibliographer, the Newberry Library, Chicago. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xxix, 378; x, 379-656. \$10.00.)

DR. Hans Baron has long been known as a student of the history and literature of the Italian Renaissance, and in the past he has given us a series of well-known articles and reviews interpreting various aspects of its historical and intellectual development especially in Florence. He now presents a comprehensive two-volume analysis of the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century; a complementary volume of special studies was published earlier in the year, *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento* (AHR, LXI [October, 1955], 167).

The latter volume is dedicated to Werner Jaeger in gratitude for the inspiration his work has provided and the *Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* is dedicated to Walter Goetz, "who introduced me to the Renaissance and taught me that history should be a study of both politics and culture." Dr. Baron's achievement may indeed be viewed as an attempt to apply to the early history of Renaissance Florence the methods of these two masters. By studying the works of the humanists in the context of the political history of the period, he gives us in high relief an account of the years when the Petrarchan inheritance was being transformed and broadened, when a new classicism was appearing in literature and the arts,

and when Florence was fighting for her existence against the tyranny of the Visconti.

It is Dr. Baron's thesis that in the decisive change in cultural direction during these years the most important factor was the "new position assumed by the Florentine city-state republic." This position was manifest not only in the world of alliances and political and military action but also in a new consciousness of the history of Florence and of the meaning of her republican ideals. The opposition to Giangaleazzo evoked, in Dr. Baron's analysis, a whole series of responses among the Florentine intellectuals. These included the reinterpretation of Roman history with emphasis upon the cultural values of the republican period and the idea that Florence had been founded by republican Rome. In a Florence which was and thought of itself as a defender of the *libertas Italiae* a basis was provided for the civic humanism realized in its highest form in the life and thought of Leonardo Bruni and his followers.

Dr. Baron's argument is sustained by a close examination of the texts, and he has offered a new interpretation or a new dating of much of the humanistic literature of the period. He points out, for example, that the *Paradiso degli Alberti* of Giovanni da Prato, written in the author's old age, cannot be taken as a source for Florentine ideas during the 1380's. In his analysis of the much discussed *De Tyranno* of Salutati, Dr. Baron sees a literary document which shows the devotion of the chancellor to the Florentine cultural heritage but also his failure, characteristic of Trecento humanism, to perceive any lines of relationship between this heritage and the current political situation. Most important of all his reassessments of the texts of the period is Dr. Baron's proposed redating for Bruni's early works. He concludes that the two books of the *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum* were written at different times, the first before the autumn of 1401 and the second after 1402. He also assigns to the latter date Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* which is mentioned in the second dialogue but which has previously been thought to have been composed in 1400. These and other reinterpretations of the evidence are the basis on which Dr. Baron builds his correspondence between the events in the struggle with Giangaleazzo and the growth of the ideas of civic humanism among the Florentine intellectuals. Composed of a series of detailed arguments which reveal the author's mastery of his sources, the picture that emerges is a clear one.

The question may be raised whether the picture is not too clear. Some of the themes with which Dr. Baron deals were implicit in the thought of the Trecento and, while admitting the very great stimulus provided by the political events of the last years of Giangaleazzo's life, we may still doubt that the change in the development of Florentine thought was either so sudden or so decisive as Dr. Baron maintains. A student might leave these volumes with the sense that Florentine history moved in determined lines before and after the years of Giangaleazzo's threat but that for this brief period determinism was suspended and a choice made which was fateful for the future. It may well be true that the Renaissance would have been "nipped in bud," as Dr. Baron maintains (p. 384), "if Florence

had become a provincial town within an Italian kingdom under despotic Viscontean rule," but we can also think of many other conditions both internal and external which might have stifled the intellectual development of Florence. Concentration on one possibility, on a single historical "if," with conditions before and after assumed to have remained the same, often serves to illuminate our understanding of a particular situation but may also endow it with a somewhat arbitrary "critical" character.

A more serious objection lies in the fact that Dr. Baron has not gone beyond the subject of the relations between states in his analysis of the political picture. There is no discussion of the internal history of either Milan or Florence and the question of the social basis of foreign policy is neglected. Can we accept for example that statement that the "Ciompi had left no traces that might have shaped the outlook and culture of the citizenry about 1400" (p. 8)? Is the movement toward oligarchic control within the city of Florence not at all related to the Florentine conception of *libertas Italiae*? Did the political realities really correspond to the conviction of Bruni and other humanists that the honors of the commonwealth were accessible to all the citizens in free competition? Dr. Baron refers to the analogy between Athens and Florence and invokes the statement of Pericles in Thucydides that the best thing Athens had to teach Greece was Athenian freedom (p. 364). Yet there is no equivalent of the Melian Dialogue in Florentine literature at the time of the capture of Pisa in 1406.

Finally it may be remarked that a more integrated organization of the book would have been desirable. There are eight appendixes, and many of the notes are of considerable length and constitute separate discussions in themselves. Furthermore there must be constant reference to the special studies published in the earlier volume. While one can understand the difficulties of exposition in this complex and detailed combination of analysis and synthesis, it seems possible that a more direct form of presentation might have been realized.

These observations cannot detract from the debt of gratitude that all students of the period will owe to Dr. Baron nor from the quality of his achievement as instanced in such moving and eloquent pages as those in which he expounds the significance of Bruni's *Laudatio* and compares it to the visual presentations of the city of Florence.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

Modern European History

TUDOR FAMILY PORTRAIT. By *Barbara Winchester*. (London: Jonathan Cape; Fairlawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1955. Pp. 330. \$4.00.)

EVERY Tudor historian will find his own reasons for enjoying Miss Winchester's many-faceted story of a middle-class Tudor merchant's rise and fall.

The source of the narrative is a hitherto little regarded collection of ledgers, account books, and correspondence in the chancery office, preserved by accident of their seizure in 1553 when the firm of Johnson and Company, merchants of the Staple, was declared bankrupt. By judicious use of these documents, supplemented by materials at Lamport Hall and Hatfield House, the author has traced both the business and personal fortunes of the Johnsons in their native Northamptonshire and in London and Calais. At the height of his success, John Johnson was a bailiff on Lord Gregory Cromwell's estate at Glapthorn, a member of the Drapers' Company, and an adventurer in a variety of enterprises in England and abroad.

The scope of the Johnsons' activity during the years of prosperity and decline involves a number of the important names and events of the period from Henry VIII to Elizabeth, the Seymour name most frequently, since the Johnsons were strong supporters of religious reform under Edward VI. Protector Somerset speaks to the imperial ambassador in behalf of a relative of the Johnsons, imprisoned at St. Omers for indiscreet remarks with reference to an image at St. Adrian (pp. 51-53); and when disturbances break out in Glapthorn church as a result of the changes in the ritual of the Prayer Book, Somerset commends Bailiff John Johnson for quelling "your neighbors' foolishness about the mass and sacrament, tending to a kind of seditious uproar" (pp. 200-201). From time to time, the excitement of the larger world of affairs is reported, as when Otwell Johnson, assisting Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, writes an eyewitness account of Catherine Howard's execution (pp. 38-39); or when in the local sales of church properties, the Johnsons move to get "all your chantries' stuff at the price it is praised for," knowing that "there be men at hand to snatch up things of any profit before the Visitors can praise them" (p. 194); or when in 1542 their ships laden with herring fall victims to the war between France and the empire (pp. 219 ff.).

But the greatest value of Miss Winchester's book, as the title suggests, is in its revelation of the quotidian activities of undistinguished men. Out of these pages emerge intimate portraits of a family of devout Calvinists, strong and uncompromising in "the battle betwixt the Spirit, the Soul and the Flesh" (p. 43), ruled in all their affairs by the Bible, from the naming of their children (Charity, Rachel, Faith, Israel, Abigail) to their refusal to take interest from a brother while accepting it from others (pp. 215-16, see Deuteronomy 23:19-20). Otwell expresses satisfaction shortly after the crowning of Edward that nothing has been heard "at the Spital these last sermons" but justification by faith and "Down with Ceremonies, Down with Ceremonies of the Bishops of Rome" (pp. 50-51). But their jests at the king's order in 1546 to destroy the brothels of London come in poor taste from those who gave as little charity to a niece with child at Glapthorn by a journeymen wool-winder (p. 86) as Mistress Margery gave to Jane in Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday*.

Miss Winchester does injustice to her thorough documentation by her scanty and inadequate attention to reference; and the book is often directed toward the general reader rather than the historian. Nevertheless, one cannot seriously regret that the raw materials of social history have been so pleasantly metamorphosed.

University of Maryland

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

MR. SECRETARY CECIL AND QUEEN ELIZABETH. By *Conyers Read*.
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. 510. \$7.95.)

THIS book is the first volume of Conyers Read's long awaited biography of William Cecil, principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth I. It carries the story of Cecil's life down to the suppression of the Rising of the North in 1569 and to his elevation to the peerage as Lord Burghley in 1571. Thus, whereas Martin Hume's old study, now clearly superseded, dealt preponderantly with "The Great Lord Burghley," Read's book details the earlier career of William Cecil as he gradually achieved greatness under three English sovereigns. The title "Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth" is not strictly accurate, for fully one fifth of the book has to do with the period prior to Cecil's "partnership" with his royal mistress. In fact, these first five chapters constitute perhaps the most original part of the book, for in no previous study, certainly not in Hume's, does the complicated role that Cecil played in the protectorate of Somerset and Warwick and the reign of Queen Mary I come so clearly into focus.

As one follows the narrative, one is struck anew with the extreme difficulty of writing a biography of a sixteenth-century man, even a personage like Cecil. Professor Read has used practically all the available source material—his book is clearly definitive in this respect—and yet the results, as he himself would be the first to admit, are often disappointingly meager and inconclusive. Great patches of Cecil's life necessarily remain in shadow because the evidence is inferential or nonexistent. The volume of extant state papers and correspondence relating to Cecil is, to be sure, very large, and there are occasional windfalls, as in the case of his Scottish negotiations from 1558 to 1560. On the other hand, only a small portion of his outgoing letters survives, and Cecil himself appears actually to have destroyed evidence for some of the critical moments of his career, notably for the last months of Edward VI's reign. All too often the historian has to depend upon the reports of foreign ambassadors for what occurred in an important meeting of the council, or for what Cecil said in parliament. Cecil is known to have been an adroit parliamentary speaker, yet there remains only one full draft of any of his speeches, and that happens to be concerned with the eating of more fish to help restore the English navy.

It is a tribute to the biographer's skill that he has succeeded in reconstructing from such evidence a remarkably clear picture of his man. In so short a space a reviewer can set down only a few of the more striking qualities which rendered Cecil "supreme" in the council by 1571, indispensable to his mistress, triumphant

over his enemies, and successful in nailing down the religious settlement, detaching Scotland from the French alliance, and increasing enormously the power of the principal office he held. Cecil, says Professor Read, was essentially a "pragmatist." By pragmatist, however, he does not mean a trimmer, but a realist who sensed, as few others did, the realities of power both at home and abroad. Not hampered by any guiding principles except patriotism, he could therefore operate with "great flexibility"—always, however, in partnership with the queen, to whose contributions to ultimate policy Read allots a much larger role than did James Anthony Froude. Cecil was also "the busiest man in England," and the best informed.

The rebels of 1569 regarded Cecil as the supreme symbol of the new order in England and, on the whole, rightly. But it is one of Professor Read's most original insights to see Cecil as "the great conservator of her strength" as the seadogs were her "great expanders." At the point of economic policy he was, indeed, a "reactionary," opposing enclosures and increased cloth production and foreign trade "at the very time that mercantilism in England was on the way out." For excellent discussions of Cecil's mercantilist thinking the reader is referred especially to pages 275-76 and 296-300.

I cannot help thinking that Professor Read takes too long to tell his story. He has chosen, I think unwisely, to quote *in extenso* or in large part documents which would better have been relegated to an appendix, or left out entirely since many of them are already in print. He has also chosen to paint in what at times seems like an excessive amount of background, some of which is doubtless necessary as context but much of which is thoroughly familiar to the student of the period. This technique results in considerable repetition, since lengthy analysis invariably follows lengthy quotation, and even tedium. This is, however, but a minor criticism of a major work which does what it aimed to do, namely "to reveal Cecil."

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

THE EXPANSION OF ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 450. \$5.75.)

THIS is the second volume of Mr. Rowse's study of the age of Queen Elizabeth. His first volume, published in 1951, dealt with the structure of Elizabethan society and with its government. He now turns to the expansion of that society into the backward borderlands at home and across the oceans to other parts of the world. He has assembled a mass of detailed and accurate information, which he sets forth not only with erudition but with verve, color, and liveliness.

The volume falls into three parts. The first is concerned with the English impact upon the Scottish border, upon Cornwall, upon Wales and Ireland. The author's knowledge of geography and of family history, his use of literary sources, his command of detail, and his understanding of the Celtic temperament combine to make these chapters perhaps the best in the book. They form an excellent illustration of the way in which local history can be given national significance.

The chapters on Wales and Ireland are of especial interest. For the upper classes in Wales the Tudor period was a time of awakening and of growing maturity; and the Welsh gentry took its place in the main stream of English national life. The treatment of Ireland is excellent. Mr. Rowse does not deal with Scotland. But he is well aware, I am sure, that English influence upon Scotland at this time was very great. James VI, his eye ever on the English succession, was preparing for the happy day of Elizabeth's demise by reforming the institutions of his country along English lines.

The second portion of the volume deals with the voyages of the Elizabethan seamen, with the attempts to colonize America, and with the naval war against Spain. Mr. Rowse has a keen sense of the importance of the sea, of sea power, and of western planting. He is inclined, however, to make these things a matter of the spirit rather than of the purse: a propagandist such as Hakluyt and leaders such as Gilbert, Raleigh, and Grenville appeal to him strongly. Yet the chapter on oceanic voyages would have been strengthened, I think, by relating it more closely to economics. A third portion of the book is devoted to war on land, primarily in the Netherlands and in Ireland. These chapters explain admirably the development of English military organization, equipment, and tactics, from the fumbling old musters to a more professional concept of the art of war.

Excellent as is Mr. Rowse's volume, it is open to certain criticisms. His judgments are always clear-cut and are normally very keen. They are, however, somewhat categorical, and one would wish for occasional qualification. Mr. Rowse allows his personal opinions to intrude too much upon his narrative. His dislike of Puritans and his skepticism in regard to religion are matters of which the reader need not be informed. He displays a revulsion against the "disagreeable" twentieth century; and there is a sudden outburst against petroleum, as though it had wrought great havoc in the world. Finally, Mr. Rowse's literary style is sometimes startling. It is an energetic and frequently brilliant style which carries the reader along at a rapid pace and tells a story magnificently. But it lacks restraint, though that lack is doubtless calculated. There is, for example, too much slang. It is a little shocking to read that the great Queen Elizabeth "put out her neck."

None the less, this is a notable and important book, displaying an erudition, a breadth, and a penetration which any reviewer must envy and admire.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

LORD CHATHAM: PITT AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. By O. A. Sherrard. (London: Bodley Head; Fairlawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1955. Pp. 437. \$4.80.)

Pitt and the Seven Years' War is the second of O. A. Sherrard's projected three-volume life of Lord Chatham to appear. The book is written with grace and verve

and presents in dramatic form the problems that faced the Great Commoner in guiding Great Britain through the tremendous struggle with France that was to have in its outcome so profound an influence on shaping the destiny of the English-speaking people, especially of those dwelling in North America.

Very properly, in view of the fact that the war which Pitt was called upon to wage with France arose over conflicting and, in a very true sense, irreconcilable territorial claims in North America, the author first presents a picture of the English colonies at Pitt's accession to office. But his statement (p. 78) that since the days of Charles II England had developed no colonial policy "beyond an unintelligent and unthinking policy of *laissez faire*" will hardly be accepted by serious students of colonial history. Nor is he on safer ground when, in referring to the Ohio Valley (p. 38), he states that the French claims to it were superior to those of Great Britain. With respect to the Ohio Company, it is in all respects inaccurate to affirm (p. 33) that the company by 1750 was "the proud possessor of a grant of 500,000 acres from the King himself," in view of the conditional nature of the royal grant made in 1748 of but a fraction of this amount of land and of the failure of the company ever to fulfill the conditions that would bring possession. Again, in attributing Braddock's defeat to the bad advice given him by Washington (p. 83), one, with the easily available facts before him, may affirm that his defeat was not the result of this advice but of Gage's failure, in leading the advance, to follow Braddock's instructions and own example in taking proper measures to protect his force from ambushes.

But, after all, the book is primarily concerned with Pitt and secondarily about the "Seven Years' War." While the writer as a rule presents the military activities on all the war fronts as phases of a great single struggle, instead of two distinct wars, he concedes at one point that British troops sent to Germany were to have no part in any war other than that against France, "for we were at war with no one else" (p. 354). Yet his failure to see that there were two wars, each arising from different causes, each pursued with different objectives, and each concluded at different places, makes it difficult for him to understand and evaluate the views of those who sincerely opposed, for the sake of the national welfare, becoming more deeply involved in the war they called "the German War," in contrast to the overseas, maritime war for the empire, convinced as they were that even Austria, the chief ally of France, would oppose the latter were she to attempt to keep the conquests she was seeking to make in the heart of Germany at the expense of the allies of Great Britain. Therefore, he could write (p. 372) that of all the king's ministers Pitt was "the only one who tried to guide himself by patriotic, as opposed to personal views" and again (p. 377) that Pitt's "attitude, with its insistence on the country's good, was in marked contrast to the petty intrigues of the others for party and personal power." In other words, Pitt's very real greatness as an organizer of victory between the years 1757 and 1761 should not blind the student to the fact that those who differed with him on war

aims were quite as sincere and patriotic as he was; nor were they by that fact lacking in statesmanship as the Peace of Paris of 1763 was to indicate.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Volumes XXVIII and XXIX, HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH WILLIAM MASON. Edited by *W. S. Lewis, Grover Cronin, Jr., and Charles H. Bennett.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. lvi, 493; vii, 477. \$20.00 the set.)

THE Reverend William Mason was a correspondent of Walpole's later years. Although they had been acquainted for some time, their regular correspondence began in 1771, soon after the death of their friend, Thomas Gray. Mason was Gray's executor and author of *Memoirs of Gray* as well as of other works, dramatic, poetic, satirical. Walpole contributed letters and suggestions for the *Memoirs*. As the correspondence continued, contemporary literature and politics became congenial subjects for discussion.

From almost the beginning, however, the correspondence was peculiarly one-sided. Walpole wrote nearly two letters to Mason's one. To be sure, Walpole resided at the center of news and made it his business to be informed, while Mason was confined to the dull routine of his clerical duties in Yorkshire. But it is noticeable that Walpole's extravagant admiration for Mason's writings aroused no reciprocal enthusiasm for any of Walpole's activities. To Walpole Mason was the "priest of Apollo." Walpole was only Mason's "Evening Post." Though their correspondence was sometimes witty, it lacked the warm glow that often gave charm to Walpole's correspondence with more admiring friends.

Nevertheless, these letters are full of interest for the student of eighteenth-century affairs. Walpole was an inveterate reader and his terse and usually pithy comments enliven his letters. Soame Jenyns' *Disquisitions on Several Subjects* was "a *chef-d'oeuvre* of impudent profligacy." Gibbons' *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was "a truly classic work."

Walpole intended his political notes to spur Mason into writing more of his satirical verses on public figures. In the eyes of both men the politicians of Lord North's administration were sacrificing the old Whig principles of the Revolution. But they differed with respect to remedies. Walpole required only a return to the Constitution. Mason advised parliamentary reform and took a leading part in Wyvill's Yorkshire Association, a movement for which Walpole had no sympathy. In 1784 their political paths separated and the correspondence ended except for a brief revival in 1796, the year before Walpole's death.

The American conflict had been a subject on which Walpole and Mason were in sad but hearty agreement. Walpole frankly expressed his contempt for the authors of government policies and retailed the welcome news of American

victories as promptly as they came to his ears. As he saw the inevitable breakup of the empire, he recalled England's "twenty years of prosperity and happiness" when his father was prime minister, declaring that Sir Robert's policy of "*Quia non movere*" would have preserved those "halcyon days."

With the publication of each new section of the correspondence the grand pattern of this edition becomes clearer and its value more evident. It can hardly fail to strengthen the reviving interest in the eighteenth century as it contributes in such various ways to a better understanding of that period.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

BRITISH INDUSTRY, 1700-1950. By *Walther G. Hoffmann*, Director of the Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften in the University of Munster. Translated by *W. O. Henderson*, Senior Lecturer in International Economic History, University of Manchester, and *W. H. Chaloner*, Senior Lecturer in Modern Economic History, University of Manchester. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1955. Pp. xxiii, 338. 35s.)

THIS study was published in Germany in 1940 and has attracted enough attention to warrant an English translation, to which the author has added some comments suggested by more recent experience. It is part of the widespread effort of economists of recent years to develop a dynamic approach to economic theory. Its subject is limited: the rate of growth of industrial output in one country. By covering the long period since 1700, however, it is able to stress long-time trends more than is customarily done. Thus it points to an apparent cycle of production covering roughly twenty years and pays little attention to the familiar briefer trade cycle. The work also suggests the possibility of a normal curve of the rate of growth of an industry, starting with a relatively high rate, and perhaps flattening out with maturity, and even declining as a rate of growth even with a still continuing increase of output as an industry grows old. Such suggestions are stated tentatively—in fact, the book teems with warnings.

The core of the study is a series of graphs reproduced from the German edition. The first three, the generalized ones, consist of indexes of "total industrial output," of "output of consumer goods" and of "output of producer goods," all closely parallel. With the year 1913 as base, these are calculated by refined methods from 1700 to 1930. Other diagrams show curves for specific industries, many, of necessity, for only part of the period. Methods of calculation are carefully explained. Sometimes actual data of production were available; if not, recourse was had to representative figures, such as quantities of imports of a key raw material used in an industry. Only final results are given, either as rates of growth or as diagrams. Some broad questions have been raised and interesting tentative conclusions have been suggested. It would be well for the historian to keep these in mind in interpreting other phases of history.

The non-economic historian will be grateful for the clarity of style of the translators, despite the highly technical nature of the book. He should also find useful the many bibliographical references in the footnotes, the product of thorough research. These include not only works which provide the raw data from which the calculations were made but also modern studies, Continental and American as well as British, which have a bearing on the subject. Both these and the text point the way to further research.

Wellesley College

JUDITH BLOW WILLIAMS

BRITAIN BETWEEN THE WARS, 1918-1940. By *Charles Loch Mowat*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 694. \$6.00.)

THOSE who work in recent history will have no difficulty in recognizing the formidable task that Professor Mowat set for himself in attempting, in one volume, the history of Britain from 1918 to 1940. Those who work in British history will easily know the complexities surrounding such an effort and the great value of its successful accomplishment. For the first time we have a consistent, orderly, and competent historical treatment of two decades that previously lived in biographical fragments, scattered monographs, official reports, articles, essays, and personal impressions. From a thousand and one places, the troubled and dolorous years have been reconstructed and the disappointed hopes of the interwar period recounted. It is a sad story but very necessary for any understanding of the brighter years of the more recent past.

Perhaps Professor Mowat attempted a bit too much. The book advances along a wide front with sections given to political, social, and economic history; but with attention, also, to matters of art, science, and literature. To carry this heavy burden in its allotted space the style—always lucid—becomes too compact and makes of many pages rather heavy going. This is too bad, for where the author allows himself room to move about the sensitive warmth, even the sprightly brilliance, of his writing is apparent. These places are like sunny glades in a dense but well-tended forest. The writing, at its best, is marked by flashes of insight into characters and events. The treatment of Baldwin, for instance, is altogether admirable and that of MacDonald not far behind. With a bit more room these delights might have been multiplied.

The period as a whole is viewed as a tragic span of missed and mishandled opportunities. Small men come to the fore and impose their small views and cramped solutions upon the problems of the times. It began with the overthrow of Lloyd George—the last of the Titans—in 1922 and it continued with the domination of a Conservative party no longer under the necessity of liberalizing itself to win power from the waning Liberal and waxing Labor parties. The narrative is replete with statistical and economic data, the political story is well told, and the impact of each upon social attitudes and psychology admirably depicted.

The documentary support is splendidly chosen from amongst the embarrassing riches that await all historians who work with very recent history. This task is so well performed that little will be added to the depiction of events, though questions will undoubtedly arise concerning the interpretation of their importance and the intentions of the persons who set them in motion.

Was Lloyd George indeed the last of the giants? Did the Carlton Club meeting of 1922 constitute the watershed of the period and start the stream of British history into the valley of suffering and despair? Were those who opposed the general strike necessarily acting from less than noble motives? To what extent did the smallness of the leaders reflect the smallness of the people? Not everyone can be satisfied with any particular judgment on questions of this sort and conflicting answers will continue to be offered. Professor Mowat did not intend to lay all the ghosts of his period; he intended rather to give us a work of great utility, not entirely lacking in elements of grace and adornment.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

DAS ZEITALTER NAPOLEONS UND DIE ERHEBUNG DER VÖLKER.

By *Willy Andreas*. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1955. Pp. 684. DM 32.)

THE author's major aim in this panoramic study is to identify and correlate the essential strands of European culture as they revealed themselves in the Napoleonic era. Over twenty years ago he undertook a synthesis of German culture in the later sixteenth century, *Deutschland vor der Reformation: eine Zeitenwende* (AHR, XXXVIII [July, 1933], 736-37), and much of his subsequent writing has reflected his philosophic search for principles of coherence amid the conflicting forces of European history.

While preparing a volume for the *Neuen Propylaen Weltgeschichte* (interrupted by the war) Andreas worked out the synoptic view of Europe in the Napoleonic period which he uses as his intellectual matrix for this present study. To distinguish, as he does, the unity amid the diversity, and dissect the policies of individual states and statesmen while preserving his vision of the whole, is an architectonic labor of no mean order. "Mein Blick bleibt auf Europa gerichtet," he explains, and his chapters prove how earnestly he pursued this comprehensive and elusive ideal.

The volume is divided into two unequal parts. The first discusses the political and intellectual currents of Europe in the eighteenth century, the impact of the French Revolution on existing institutions, and the relationship between revolutionary France and the remaining European states on the eve of Bonaparte's advent to power. The second and longer part analyzes the condition of France during the Consulate and Empire, the French hegemony under Napoleon, and the nationalist uprisings that culminated in the War of Liberation.

By allotting approximately one tenth of his space to the Iberian peninsula,

the Ottoman Empire, and the Scandinavian countries, the author succeeds in relating events in these peripheral areas to an intelligible European pattern. He also gives somewhat fuller attention to the influence of British sea power and to developments overseas during the Napoleonic period than most European historians are disposed to include. But his general plan conforms to the Europocentric tradition. Like Volume IX of the *Cambridge Modern History* and Volume XIV of the "Peuples et Civilizations" series, he sees the Napoleonic epic as a strictly European phenomenon and supplies only brief hints of its global context and implications.

Within these limits, however, he has produced a detailed and effective synthesis. He omits explicit references to his sources but his well-considered judgments and his twenty-page bibliography reflect his familiarity with the most recent scholarship. Although his prose style is unnecessarily involved and sometimes obscure, his general plan and organization are logical and systematic, justifying his statement (p. 9) that "Aufbau und Gliederung des Ganzen konnten durchsichtiger gestaltet werden; mehrere Abschnitte und Kapitel erfahren jetzt auch im einzelnen eine feinere Durchbildung."

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU: A CRITICAL STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS. By *F. C. Green*, Professor of French Literature at the University of Edinburgh, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 376. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Green of the University of Edinburgh brings to the challenging subject of the life and writings of Rousseau a broad background in French literature and unusual talents as a literary critic, historian, and writer. The result is a distinguished contribution to Rousseauian studies and a book which is a pleasure to read because of its deft style and psychological insights.

Any reasonably objective analysis of Rousseau had to wait for the publication of the indispensable *Correspondance générale* and the careful research of twentieth-century scholars. Until then a Morley had to suffice. Since then there have appeared in English the sound but popular biography by Josephson and the more recent but slight Mowat narrative, but no serious "life and letters." So the present volume is doubly welcome.

The author knows his sources (it is a pity there is no bibliography), and he knows the subtleties of historical method, particularly internal criticism—an absolute prerequisite for disentangling the confusing threads of Rousseau's strange career. Rousseau is a study in psychology, and we have here not only a reasonable interpretation of his "persecution mania" but also a subtle and witty analysis of Rousseau's behavior and writings as they reflected so well his emotional and psychological adjustment, or rather lack of it.

Nobody could do complete justice to the many facets of the career and the works of Rousseau in one volume. Professor Green has chosen to organize his book on a biographical framework, but the reader who wants a connected and detailed account of Rousseau's life should go elsewhere. The present volume does have the advantage that all of the many writings are discussed in detail. There is a chapter-by-chapter analysis of the *Contrat social*, and the discussion of the possible *étatiste* implications is a useful supplement to Vaughan and Cobban. But the author's primary emphasis is on the *Emile* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. The chapter on the educational treatise is excellent; the section on Rousseau's famous novel is perhaps the best part of the book, and this "veiled autobiography" is skillfully analyzed with the help of the *Correspondance*.

There is no conclusion, but the author leaves his readers with a vivid impression of a man who was dominated all his adult life by an overpowering imagination, a relentless idealism, and a haunting nostalgia for the peace and happiness he had occasionally known during his tormented life.

University of Arkansas

GORDON H. McNEIL

KULTURKAMPF: STAAT UND KATHOLISCHE KIRCHE IN MITTEL-EUROPA VON DER SÄKULARISATION BIS ZUM ABSCHLUSS DES PREUSSISCHEN KULTURKAMPFES. By *Georg Franz*. (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. 1954. Pp. 355. DM 19.)

RUDOLF Virchow's term, *Kulturkampf*, having lost its resonance as a liberal battle cry, has become an appropriate label for all the church and state conflicts stemming from Pius IX's avowed enmity with nineteenth-century thought and politics. This broader meaning readily applies to the situation in Central Europe, where, after 1859, the brief ascendancy of political liberals, either in public office or as influences upon public opinion, led to attempts to alter the ecclesiastical dominion of the Catholic Church. These attempts, although prompted by a wide range of motives, loosed a liberal reply to the papacy in the form of a public critique of the habits of thought associated with Catholic teaching. In this light, Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* culminated various Austrian, Prussian, South German, and Swiss efforts to give the confessions legal parity and to diminish the civil privileges of the Catholic Church. In each instance certain common features and their consequences reappeared: a political struggle—centered largely in parliament or the diets—over the law, the constitution, or the concordat; an accompanying growth of political Catholicism, that is, a popular political movement supporting the hierarchy's aspirations; the Vatican's skillful use of diplomacy either to assist or, paradoxically enough, to circumvent the church's parliamentary champions; and, as a consequence of the acrimony and bitterness invariably aroused by the dispute, an increased tension between the faithful and the protagonists of a wholly secular culture.

Praise is due Professor Franz for enabling us to see the *Kulturkampf* in its Central European dimensions and for attempting to relate the issues to larger aspects of European intellectual and social history. Unfortunately some very dubious generalizations mar the latter part of this plan so that the account can be said to be successful only in depicting events between 1859 and 1879. An initial chapter surveys the preceding half century, while a brief conclusion deals with the effect on papal diplomacy of the increasingly strained relations between church and state in France after 1880, difficulties not without significance for Leo XIII's conciliatory policy toward Germany. Voluminous notes printed at the back of the text show a familiarity with the main German publications as well as an exploration of the Bavarian diplomatic documents for items pertinent to the general theme.

These researches affirm the now well-established conclusions about the bearing of foreign policy upon Bismarck's handling of the *Kulturkampf*; they also show, after Pius IX's death, the papal embarrassment over the Center party's intransigence, a point worth emphasizing since the legal settlement in Germany enabled Bismarck to preserve the appearance of a satisfactory compromise. The author looks on this settlement, which was arranged in spite of Windthorst's strenuous objections, as the last great achievement of the "classical diplomacy," a view that helps to explain the author's respect for Bismarck. The chancellor's portrait is etched so starkly as to exaggerate his unique competence and to portray his political conduct as if it were rigorously Hegelian. More subtlety is apparent in the sketches of Austrian liberals and civil servants, among whom Josephinism continued to exert a certain charm since it promised to enmesh the church in a national bureaucracy. How their esteem for the *Staatskirchentum* of the eighteenth century colored the *Kulturkampf* in Austria is an especially noteworthy feature of the book. More care in preparing the manuscript and in proofreading might have caught some minor errors of fact and eliminated some misspelled names, although these shortcomings in no way diminish the usefulness of a survey of events crucial to an understanding of nineteenth-century history.

University of Notre Dame

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

THE POLITICS OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY, 1640-1945. By Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xx, 536. \$11.50.)

To have the sum of the extraprofessional activities of the Prussian Army—of its officers, that is—called by the name of "politics," the name they themselves would have abhorred most, strikes an ex-member of that corps as something like a New World breeze, refreshing and exhilarating. These officers, a sizable number of them at times, very few at others, have been deep in politics under the various

Obersten Kriegsherrn, from the Grand Elector to Hitler, warlords most of whom were afraid rather than in full control of their officers (p. 468, where it might have been added that the first king was at times in great fear of his guards, always Prussia's worst Pretorians). With the exception of the reform period after 1807, they have favored reactionary politics. As Mr. Craig puts it: "The armed forces stood to lose most from political and social reform," such as was proposed by elements in Prussia and the Reich that were not very radical and whose proposals, if accepted, might have strengthened rather than weakened the army. At this point, Mr. Craig might have bored somewhat deeper into the strata, for the exclusion of "little-suited elements" from the officer body before 1914 meant a freezing of the status quo by the Schlieffen army, the neglecting of an available potential by a chief of staff whose politics were those of the Junkers, to one of whom he once expressed the hope that if the Reichstag were to be dissolved by the famous "one lieutenant and ten men," these would be taken from his own guard regiment. In broader formulation the question should be: How far did Prusso-German strategic thought arise out of the social matrix?

Of these army politics—practically all navy politics are omitted, including even the army's tolerance of the Tirpitz navy, which I should call a *politicum* of the first order and worth considering—we are given here a well-researched, well-told *Geschichtserzählung*, with excellent quotations. Nearly all the best sources, including the ones most recently opened, such as the manuscripts in safekeeping in Washington, are used and to good advantage; we would miss the various relevant writings by Hans Herzfeld, and Gerhard Ritter's book on Goerdeler and the Resistance might have made the final parts a little less summary in telling and judgment. While the factual errors encountered by the reviewer are not rare—they occur mostly among the minutiae of noble names and the like—in all essentials the story is correct and the judgments sound and well founded, as for instance with regard to the fatal character of the one and only Schlieffen Plan that was waiting for the war in July, 1914, and helped to make its coming ever more inevitable. When the judgments reach the scornful, they are still eminently sound, as when the author characterizes the deal struck between Hitler and the generals in 1934 whereby Roehm and his S.A. as competitors of the Reichswehr were eliminated, as "ward politics," just as dirty and short-sighted (p. 476). In fact, our basic criticism or disagreement would be that the lower forms of army politics have been neglected by the author, who deals with the army's "grosse Politik" almost exclusively, omitting the whole "promotional" part, including the agitation of generals like Bernhardt, Haushofer, or Keim (once appearing in a footnote), or the circumstance that Moltke sat in the Prussian parliaments as well as on the board of a great railway company, or the relations with veterans' organizations, or party politicians, or the whole complex of officers' ties with tariff-protected agriculture, ties at which William II once hinted when he declared he could not allow a lowering of the tariff and thereby hurt the families who had bled

in the Frederician wars. Must these portentous facts be considered mere sociological data, not belonging in the historian's field of view?

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

THE FAILURE OF THE PRUSSIAN REFORM MOVEMENT, 1807-1819. By
Walter M. Simon, Department of History, Cornell University. (Ithaca, N. Y.:
Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 272. \$4.00.)

IN this exceptionally well-grounded book Mr. Simon addresses himself to the task of explaining why Prussia in the crucial year 1819 chose authoritarianism and militarism. Specifically, he has examined what happened to the agrarian, the military, and the constitutional aspects of the Prussian reform movement culminating in the dismissal of the ministers Humboldt, Boyen, and Beyme. In seeking his explanation, the author is careful to remind us that Prussia at the time was more like the France of Cardinal Richelieu than the France of 1819. There was the platitudinous fact that the middle class was relatively weak, the nobility relatively strong; and there was the decisive fact that the bureaucratic state was strong enough largely to dominate the classes. The question therefore became: how should the power of the state be used to determine the future character of state and society? One circumstance was remarkably favorable to institutional change: King Frederick William III was a weak and malleable man, and it happened that Hardenberg, who was chief minister during most of these years, was a specialist in the manipulation of men. Hardenberg is the central figure in Mr. Simon's story, and in assessing responsibilities he places on Hardenberg a sizable share of the blame. "If Wittgenstein and Metternich gained ascendancy over the king's mind after 1815," he remarks pointedly, "it was because Hardenberg neglected to maintain his influence on it."

Mr. Simon is at his best in his treatment of the constitutional question. It is a mark of his scholarship and skill that he picks his way authoritatively through the intricacies of this subject without leaving his reader behind him. He is good on the opposition to the agrarian reform, although it is a fairly familiar story. One is a little less sure of his chapters on the military reforms, which tend to get in the way of his main theme, and the issues tend to get somewhat blurred. The long-term implications of Boyen's views on the democratization of the army seem more ambiguous than Mr. Simon infers. He tells us that when Prussia turned her back on Boyen, she turned her back on freedom. But was it really as simple as that? In a trenchant passage in his *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk*, Gerhard Ritter remarks that the "stronger Prussian will to power" was after all on the side of Boyen and company in 1819; and it was not militarism which immediately triumphed, but stagnation and ancient privilege. There would seem to be something in that.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL R. SWEET

STEIN, RANKE, BISMARCK: EIN BEITRAG ZUR POLITISCHEN UND SOZIALEN BEWEGUNG DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Wilhelm Mommsen*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1954. Pp. 303. DM 14.80.)

OBVIOUSLY intended as a companion volume to the author's *Grösse und Versagen des deutschen Bürgertums*, this work by Mommsen makes an impressive effort to reconstruct the drama of German unification in terms of contemporary political ideology as reflected in Stein, von Ranke, and Bismarck. Though not contemporaries, in the strictest sense, they had much in common. They were social and political conservatives, were consciously Protestant, and shared a sincere devotion to Prussia. Though all three men witnessed a momentous surge of German nationalism none of them, according to Mommsen, was a Pan-German.

Primarily an administrator and reformer, Stein laid the broad social foundation for a strong Prussian state; he necessarily felt the stir of the liberation wars he helped to unleash. A youth during these wars, Ranke was little affected by them and, according to Mommsen, lacked any active national impulse much as he lacked any concrete and feasible concept of German unity. Both Stein and Ranke lived in the ideological milieu of Goethe and embodied the transition between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bismarck, by contrast, symbolizes a new epoch. Not content with Stein's hazy German cultural unity nor with Ranke's utopian and visionary project of combining Austria and Prussia with a revamped confederation of the Rhine to form a broad new German confederation under Habsburg though not Austrian leadership, Bismarck, though equally dedicated to the preservation of the old confederal system, was determined to make Prussia the leading power in northern Germany. It may surprise some readers that Bismarck is pictured as a man of peace, however bent on carving out a glorious role for his cherished Prussia. Stein, Ranke, and Bismarck were equally insistent on the maintenance of cordial relations between Prussia and Austria and looked upon Austria as a German power but as a Catholic and, as such, not entirely authentic German state. Mommsen insists that Bismarck's aims were clear, simple, and limited, that they entailed the extension of Prussian hegemony over northern Germany and the eventual exclusion of Austria from Germany altogether, that he had no Pan-German designs beyond this, that the Dual Alliance of 1879 was rather a part of his broader European defense system, and that his policy, not one of ruthless power politics, was rational, responsible, and based on principle.

The concluding essay stresses the extreme conservatism of these public figures, the crucial role of Protestantism and of denominational cleavages in German history, the fear of the emerging lower classes, the complete lack of any constructive effort to deal with this phenomenon, and the utter failure of the contemporary German bourgeoisie to give a positive and progressive direction to their country's political affairs. The product of extensive research into the whole range of Stein's, Ranke's, and Bismarck's writings and speeches over several decades, Mommsen's work has set the ever perplexing "German question" in a new and fresh per-

spective against the background of which the events of even the last half-century become more meaningful and intelligible.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

BISMARCK: THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN. By *A. J. P. Taylor*, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. 286. \$4.75.)

MR. Taylor's monograph on Bismarck has all the advantages of a refreshingly unconventional approach. It differs widely from earlier books in English on the subject, those of "high-minded" liberals, specifically of Grant-Robertson and Eyck, but also from those of Mr. Taylor himself. It is to his credit that he has abandoned some of his previous tendentious views on German history; it is less fortunate that he so often contradicts himself within the covers of his new book. A brilliant writer he apparently finds it difficult to bother too much about factual accuracy, while love of the telling phrase and quest for originality make his running comment on the facts attractive as well as highly assailable.

The reader may first be surprised by the eloquent praise which Bismarck receives. He is moderate in victory far beyond any other statesman and "the greatest master of diplomacy in modern history," although, according to Mr. Taylor, he never learned to write proper reports or give clear instructions. The standard misinterpretation of "iron and blood" is rather strikingly disposed of by the author—with some barbs added against the idealists—and Bismarck's rejection of preventive warfare is accepted to a degree hardly shared by any "unrepentant" apologist. Also the highest praise is given to Bismarck's "system" of social insurance which would be sufficient to make him an outstandingly progressive figure. A few sentences later, however, we are told that it was his "very lack of principles" that gave him such a clear vision into the future. But in other respects no vision whatsoever is accorded to him. As to principles of his policy Mr. Taylor's views are just as contradictory. Although convinced that Bismarck thought primarily in terms of states and not of nations, he assigns to him one principle, namely that of "sorting people out into their linguistic[!] 'tribes'." Measured with this imaginary yardstick, the same man who is praised for his moderation gets his share of blame because he helped to preserve the Habsburg Empire and was disinterested in the German communities in "Transsylvania, Constantinople, or Salonica[!]." Had he stuck to his guns, greater Germany might have been created. And yet Mr. Taylor finds, just as unwarrantedly, that Kleindeutschland was bound to come about by sheer force of economic necessity, whether or not Bismarck came along.

No wonder that the man who did or did not do all these things is split into contrasting parts. Much as Mr. Taylor is right in criticizing the fiction of preconceived plans and preconceived wars, his own picture of an almost timid

Bismarck seems to be largely overdrawn. He further takes obvious delight in antagonizing English views by his defense of the "Reptilienfond" and of Bismarck's constitutional practices. As to the liberal phase there are some good points in the discussion of the early seventies; in particular the analysis of laissez faire in domestic and foreign policies alike must not be overlooked by any student of the period. But the insight into an attitude "all of a piece at home and abroad" is not carried over to other phases. In contrast to his picture of a Bismarck strangely innocent of what happens, Mr. Taylor then maintains that he did most things arbitrarily and for the sake of his own power. In the last analysis the Reich appears to have been created and maintained in order to prevent him from boredom. It is no longer the work of a mad Junker bent upon preserving the status of his class but rather of a neurotic personality, a sophisticated intellectual masquerading as a country squire.

There are some fascinating grains of truth even in this portrait. But the technique of inflating the incidental or raising the trivial (e.g., the railway-line separating Bismarck's tomb from his home) to the height of symbolic meaning cannot carry conviction. Nor does the bold statement, that "God had often seemed the only thing that Bismarck did not fear," or the discovery that in taste and outlook he finally was nearest to the rich merchants of Hamburg, "essentially uncreative," with a slight touch of the Buddenbrooks!

The last pages which carry this picture of a fairly respectable but somewhat degenerate Bismarck over into a sardonic discussion of the German resistance movement the reviewer prefers to pass by with "no comment."

University of Chicago

HANS ROTHFELS

VON DOLLFUSS ZU HITLER: GESCHICHTE DES ANSCHLUSSES
ÖSTERREICHES, 1933-1938. By *Ulrich Eichstädt*. [Veröffentlichungen des
Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band X.] (Wiesbaden: Franz
Steiner Verlag. 1955. Pp. x, 558. DM 28.)

THIS volume is an extremely thorough, well-documented, scholarly study of Austro-German relations and National Socialist tactics in Austria from 1933 to 1938. The footnote references to supporting evidence, in nearly all of which source materials are cited, run to almost one hundred pages. The bulk of the citations are to the voluminous Nuremberg trial documents and to the records of the Guido Schmidt trial in Vienna, but Dr. Eichstädt has also drawn upon the unpublished papers of the Wilhelmstrasse Process, the German edition of the German Foreign Ministry documents, the Austrian *Rot-Weiss-Rot* book, the *Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten*, and various memoirs and other personal accounts, both German and Austrian, which have been published since 1938.

Although the author sketches the main threads of Austro-German relations between 1918 and July, 1934, in two excellent introductory chapters, most of the

work deals with the making of and the attempts to implement the terms of the July 11, 1936, agreement and with the last few months preceding the destruction of Austria as an independent country in March, 1938. In addition to unraveling, in a detailed and sometimes laborious, yet objective and always readable, manner, the numerous charges and countercharges, quarrels and maneuvers that were made during these tense four years, the author shows how European diplomatic conditions were such that Austria was completely isolated by the spring of 1938.

As the author points out, in spite of the fact that Dollfuss had at various times in 1933-1934 sought to arrive at some kind of *modus vivendi* with the National Socialists, it was not until after the failure of the July 25, 1934, coup that the Nazi regime substituted for its former tactics of crude, naked force a subtle Machiavellian policy of simulated reasonableness to prepare the Austrian people to accept *Anschluss*. Eichstädt maintains that it was the Italian-German rapprochement in 1936 which forced Schuschnigg to attempt to reconcile Austria's main differences with Germany by signing the July 11, 1936, agreement. He hoped thereby to gain time until a revival of the Stresa Front would again make it possible for Austria to count on strong Italian, and perhaps French and British, assistance in resisting further German demands. Hitler signed the accord so that he could bring National Socialist elements into the inner councils of the Austrian government, where they could bore from within and eventually accomplish the longed-for *Anschluss* with Germany.

In detail the author reveals the methods by which Schuschnigg carried on a stubborn rearguard action to resist the German machinations to undermine Austrian independence. He shows how the German government assisted Von Papen, Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian "National Opposition," and the moderate Austrian Nazis in their attempts to induce the Austrian chancellor to appoint an increasingly larger number of pro-Germans to the ministry and to high positions in the Fatherland Front. It was not until Schuschnigg announced that a plebiscite would be held on March 13, 1938, that Hitler renounced his "evolutionary" tactics in favor of armed intervention. Only on March 12—one day after the Austrian chancellor had resigned under pressure from the Berlin regime—did Hitler decide to incorporate Austria into Germany.

Eichstädt paints Von Papen's role in Austria in a more favorable light than most English writers and portrays Seyss-Inquart as an honest leader of the National Opposition who was loyal to Schuschnigg to the end. Although this reviewer does not agree with Eichstädt's opinions of Von Papen and Seyss-Inquart, and although he feels that the author minimizes the shortcomings of the Austrian National Opposition, nevertheless, he believes that Eichstädt's volume is one of the very best that has been written on recent Austrian history.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

THE COLOSSUS AGAIN: WESTERN GERMANY FROM DEFEAT TO REARMAMENT. By *Alfred Grosser*. Translated by *Richard Rees*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. Pp. 249. \$4.75.)

A GREAT many books have been written on postwar Germany. Yet most of them tend to be either drily factual or vividly partisan. There has been a need, therefore, for this informative as well as interpretative assessment of Germany's recent past. The fact that it is written by a French scholar, member of the faculty of the Sorbonne, gives it an added flavor and perspective. The subject is treated under seven headings in that many chapters, each with an excellent bibliographical note. The first deals, briefly and objectively, with the international causes and events of Germany's separation in two, stressing, among other things, France's role in hastening the German schism. The second chapter discusses the West's often shortsighted occupation policy and in particular its futile efforts at "denazification." The third describes the miraculous revival of Germany's economy, with due emphasis on its continued weaknesses, notably that "dark corner of social injustice," i.e., the unequal share of German labor in the fruits of recovery. The fourth chapter, entitled "The Social Background," dwells especially on the eastern refugees or expellees, labor, and youth. The refugees, Grosser holds, must be considered a European concern. He detects a certain hesitation in West Germany's efforts at their integration, based, he feels, on the fear that to assimilate the refugees would be to recognize the *fait accompli* of a divided Germany. The fifth chapter deals with the moral and intellectual forces—churches, schools, press, and the movies (yet neglecting the important medium of radio).

Having thus set the stage, Dr. Grosser discusses the functioning of the federal and parliamentary system, the evolution of political parties, and the attitude of the electorate on such key problems as rearmament, reunification, and anti-Semitism. In a separate chapter he examines Franco-German relations, explaining his country's vacillating policy as a reflection of the average Frenchman's uncertain feelings about Germany. If there has been a marked improvement in recent years, a good share of the credit, in the author's opinion, belongs to the various exchange programs, especially among French and German youth. A brief conclusion sums up the present situation in Western Germany as one in which "the forces of progress are in danger in every sphere of being overborne by the forces of the past."

Grosser is particularly concerned over German rearmament, since it compromises her renovation and hinders the development of Franco-German understanding. Instead he advocates that economic and social reforms should take priority over "militant anti-communism," since the latter merely tends to encourage nationalism and irredentism. This prognosis, while perhaps overly pessimistic, certainly is worth pondering, especially as it is made by some one who has

approached his subject with such admirable objectivity, thorough knowledge, and deep concern.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN RUSSIAN AND SOVIET THOUGHT.

Edited with an Introduction by *Ernest J. Simmons*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 563. \$7.50.)

IN March, 1954, a group of American scholars mapped out a series of themes and subtopics relating to continuity and change in Russian and Soviet thought. The resulting papers, read and discussed at a conference at Arden House, were written by thirty outstanding students of Russian affairs, in biology, government, history, law, literature, philosophy, and religion. Their essays, which display a high degree of competence, were intended for persons well informed in Russian and Soviet affairs, and in some cases are highly technical, so that they are not light reading. They form the volume under review.

Like many composite works, this at times lacks cohesion. Merle Fainsod writes that the contributors to Part II "in their collective wisdom . . . have avoided the issue of continuity and change like the plague. . . ." Hence it was left to the six who summarized the several sections to tie together four or five unrelated articles and thus to provide unity and harmony. Even more might have been achieved if there were a general summary. As it stands, the book is a mosaic whose tesserae are clearly visible, but whose general pattern is not always apparent.

In Part I, dealing with realism and utopia in Russian economic thought, we are shown much fuzzy thinking, by Populists who denied the very existence of Russian capitalism, flourishing before their eyes, and by Chernov, peasant-minded Socialist Revolutionary, who refused to recognize the peasant revolution when it came in 1917. Nor were Stalin's sudden lurches from concessions to the peasants in 1927 to heavy industrialization and partial collectivization of agriculture in 1928, followed by complete collectivization a few months later, the result of sweet reason. Another section considers tsarist autocracy and Soviet totalitarianism. Was there a lineal connection between them? And what were the ideologies and rationales used to justify them? Here little continuity was to be observed, in spite of some superficial resemblance. Part III, on collectivism and individualism, produces substantial continuity, in the Slavophil concept of *sobornost'*, in Herzen's views on the commune, in Stalin's collective farm, and in Vyshinskii's theory of collectivity. Even the literary prototype of the hero, "the new man" of Belinskii and Chernyshevskii, resembles the Soviet heroes portrayed by Sholokhov and Ostrovskii.

The examples cited in Part IV, on rationality and nonrationality, show little or no direct relation to each other. The strong mysticism of Vladimir Solov'ev, the Russian church's relative indifference to Darwinism in Russia, and the Soviet aberration of the Lysenko biology, have little in common but their nonrationality.

In Part V, however, great continuity is found between the prerevolutionary and the early Soviet literatures, until the heavy hand of the Communist party fell in 1932. On the other hand, the tsarist censorship, which allowed great freedom to literature, while seeking to prevent political discussion, differed sharply from the Soviet regimen, which dictates to novelists and political writers alike. Finally, the section on Russia and the community of nations indicates that the element of messianism has been present in most Russian and Soviet thinkers.

Perhaps the best way to sum up the findings of this volume is to state that, while many of the Soviet ideas are derived from the earlier period, perhaps the most definite form of continuity is the backwardness of thought and rationality that the Soviet regime has inherited from its predecessors.

Duke University

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNIST AUTOCRACY: POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET STATE, FIRST PHASE, 1917-1922. By *Leonard Schapiro*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London. 1955. Pp. xvii, 397. \$7.00.)

THE purpose of this admirable study is to show that the Soviet "autocracy" grew out of Lenin's design for the seizure and retention of power and that, while the plant was watered and fertilized by Joseph Stalin until it attained monstrous proportions, it was already rooted and standing upright before he came into power. The first third of the book tells how the Bolsheviks took over the rule of Russia, the second third deals with the suppression of dissent in the form of rival revolutionary parties—and one of the author's main theses is the truly revolutionary character of the Mensheviks and both the main-line and left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries—while the last third shows how the instruments of coercion forged in the quest for monopoly power were turned back upon the Communists themselves, until the clique in control of the organization ruled as absolutely within the party as the party within the country.

Mr. Schapiro's account is history as it should be written. Truth is his only guide, and he views the processes of history not in terms of intellectual or social abstractions but in those of human beings. In constructing his narrative and analyzing developments he has drawn upon a host of materials, a large number of which are set forth in the bibliography. Here and there it is possible to point to an omission that would have contained something of value for him, but on the whole he has gone over the field so thoroughly as to justify the statement on the jacket that the documentation is "enormous."

In hewing a straight road through the forest of material, he has sealed off a number of false trails blazed by misinformed or tendentious historians. The representation of the SR's as champions of kulak interests, understandable in the case

of Bolshevik propagandists, disgraceful in that of foreign scholars, he thoroughly demolishes, as also the whole myth of the socialist opponents of Bolshevism as handmaidens of reaction. Indeed, Mr. Schapiro is able to demonstrate that it was the distinctive radicalism of Russian socialists and their desperate determination not to let their feud with Bolshevism benefit the White movement which proved to be one of the major factors in the triumph of Bolshevism. That they were nevertheless tarred with the brush of counter-revolution attests not their lack of revolutionary principle but the lack of any principle at all on the part of their defamers. The willingness of the Communist leadership to lay everything on the altar of power, however, does not blind the author, as it does less objective writers, to the fanatical idealism of the mass of Communists and even of many of those same leaders. On the slippery ground of Social Revolutionism, where so many investigators break their necks, the author does quite well, though he does not know enough to be able to do justice to Chernov and misjudges the strength of the centrist faction.

A list of members of the Communist hierarchy, 1917-1922, a list of significant dates, and a detailed index add to the value of a book which may be read with profit by every student of the Russian Revolution.

University of Texas

OLIVER H. RADKEY

THE HISTORY OF A SOVIET COLLECTIVE FARM. By *Fedor Belov*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for Research Program on the U.S.S.R. 1955. Pp. xiii, 237. \$5.50.)

THE author, a captain in the Russian army during the war, served as a chairman of a collective farm in his native village—somewhere between Kiev and Odessa—from 1947 until 1949, when he was re-inducted into the army as a punishment for his refusal to deliver to the government additional grain after his farm had filled its delivery quotas ahead of schedule. Somewhat later, he fled to Western Germany and at present resides in the United States.

This intelligent and well-organized account, by an insider, of the *modus operandi* of that collective farm transmits a body of very detailed and very concrete monographic knowledge, a real contribution to the literature of the field. Some of the mass of quantitative information given is based on the author's diaries, which he preserved, and are partially reproduced in an appendix; some of it has been supplied from memory. It would have been better if the two types of figures had been clearly differentiated; while most of the statistics throughout the book seem consistent enough, occasionally a figure may raise some doubts. Thus, it is surprising that grain yields on the intensively cultivated individual plots in the late forties should have been below the average field grain yields in the twenties (pp. 3 and 179-80). If this is correct, an explanation would have been quite in order.

The extent of government exactions from the *kolkhoz* constitutes the most impressive part of Mr. Belov's story. In 1947, the farm delivered to the state in one form or another some seventy-five per cent of its total harvest in grains (p. 138). Even for an unfavorable year of the thirties (1939-40) the corresponding percentage for the country as a whole was just over forty per cent (cf. N. Jasny, *The Socialized Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.* [Stanford, 1949], p. 738). It is small wonder that the author speaks of the conditions that prevailed in the second half of the thirties with a certain nostalgia (p. 18).

It is true, of course, that the official crop figure may have been somewhat below the actual total yield. The attempts of the peasants and the farm to evade the deliveries to the government were at least in some measure a part of their normal activities. The author's vivid descriptions of such attempts include the seeding of remote "hidden" fields, bribes to the officials (an appendix gives a long specification of such bribes in 1948, and the list of recipients includes the local chiefs of the secret police), secret slaughterings, and the like. On the other hand, in its struggle against such evasions, the government had recourse to measures that were truly medieval in nature: the demolition of peasants' flour mills and the confiscation of grindstones inevitably call to mind similar episodes in the history of the seigneurial system.

It is interesting that even the official relations between peasant and authorities, as they emerge from the author's story, were characterized by anything but absolute obedience on the part of the peasants. At times, peasant discontent would express itself openly with some limited effectiveness, and the party functionaries, for instance, would find it necessary to abstain from foisting upon the peasantry a distasteful candidate for office. In general, one receives the impression of a far from perfectly stable situation, and it is useful to relate the author's descriptions to both the subsequent policy of compulsory *kolkhoz* mergers and the still more recent policy of some relaxation and alleviation.

One final remark may be in order. The unique value of this book lies in the sense of immediacy and concreteness that it conveys. Yet, time and again, the details related by the author have a familiar ring. The reason is not far to seek. For a great many things in this documentary account are similar indeed to those found in the postwar crop of Soviet *kolkhoz* novels. The perusal of the book certainly reinforces the feeling that Soviet fiction is a most useful and perhaps still quite inadequately exploited source of information on everyday economic life in Soviet Russia.

The very careful editing of the book should not go unmentioned. Apart from providing a very readable text, the editors have supplied useful annotations and a number of footnote references to the general literature on the subject.

Harvard University

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

Far Eastern History

JAPAN'S MODERN CENTURY. By *Hugh Borton*, Professor of Japanese and Director, East Asian Institute, Columbia University. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1955. Pp. xii, 524. \$7.00.)

THIS book is a major contribution by an outstanding American authority on Japanese studies. While Professor Chitoshi Yanaga's earlier work remains unsurpassed for factual detail, and while more authoritative specialized studies exist, this is the first adequate interpretive account covering the whole range of modern Japanese history to appear in English. The author's familiarity with the voluminous Japanese literature on this subject as well as with the significant postwar American scholarship in this field is reflected in both his text and his excellent bibliographical notes.

The plan and the proportions of this book are especially good. The author succeeds in fitting the complex developments in virtually every significant aspect of Japanese life for the past one hundred years into a simple, logical, narrative organization. He does so, as he explains in his preface, by wisely shifting the emphasis from one formative influence to another as they varied in intensity during the different periods. He is more successful with the political and the economic aspects than he is with the social and particularly the international aspects, but he renders reasonably balanced justice to them all.

He keeps constantly before him the twofold question: How did Japan get that way? Where is it likely to go? He further breaks this question down into several more detailed and specific questions in each of his chapters; and although he does not always succeed in coming up with clear answers or even hypotheses, his constant awareness of fundamental problems results in thoughtful and purposeful writing. His literary style, while lacking in brilliance or incisiveness, is smooth and pleasant.

The author is eminently objective and sound in his judgments. If anything, he tends to be cautious and conventional. The color and drama inherent in the events he recounts receive no literary embellishment from him. There are places where the use of some other phrase or a slightly different emphasis would have highlighted a point which might otherwise escape the reader. A bolder approach might have yielded more perceptive flashes of insight, but the author has chosen to remain on safe, scholarly foundations.

One result of sticking to documented evidence is that the "oligarchs" receive undue blame for having thwarted the growth of democracy in Japan. Might it not have been more clearly emphasized that the fault lay not so much with the oligarchs as with the social and historical background which rendered their predominance all but inevitable? Also, while evidence of the constant victories of the oligarchs is overwhelming, is it not at least equally significant that the oligarchs had to fight

increasingly desperately and to compromise more and more as time went on? The obvious fact that the oligarchs were victorious receives emphasis, but the less obvious but equally significant fact that the circumstances surrounding these victories underwent evolutionary change appears to be comparatively underplayed. In several other matters likewise, the obvious facts seem to receive emphasis, while the less obvious and therefore less readily documented facts of equal significance seem to be relatively neglected. There are also several minor technical inaccuracies which, while possibly irritating to specialists, do no real harm.

These criticisms should not detract from the general value of the book, which is an admirable one well worthy of the eminent reputation which the author holds.

Ohio State University

KAZUO KAWAI

CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM: THE FIRST FIVE YEARS. By *Richard L. Walker*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 403. \$4.50.)

THE first five years of Communist rule in China, 1949–54, brought tremendous changes. Unified for the first time in a generation, China has been put through a social revolution which eliminated the landlords as a class and changed the whole pattern of rural control in an area larger than Europe. Five hundred million people are being organized under a totalitarian party which aims to transform their country into a modern industrial and military power. The leaders are a tough, hard-working, and confident group of revolutionaries who are getting ample Russian advice and considerable material aid. If China can be modernized according to the Russian blueprint, then probably India and the Middle Eastern and African countries could be too.

Professor Richard L. Walker of Yale University has given us a clearly written account of these first years of Communist rule in China as he interprets it through a close reading of the vast literature available. His book is well documented, and fifty pages of notes are a valuable guide into the literature on contemporary China. The study is enriched by many interviews which Professor Walker had with Chinese refugees in Hong Kong during 1952.

The book concentrates on "a few key areas where the apeing of the Soviet 'big brother' can be brought clearly into focus and which can serve as an indication of the direction in which the Chinese people are being pushed by their new masters." It seems to emphasize the methods used by the Communists to fasten their grip upon the people and force them to accept and work for the goals set up by the regime. Five chapters on this theme are very well done. Yet it leaves the impression that China today is a Soviet-style police state and nothing more. It pays little attention to the economic developments of the period. There are few acknowledgments that the regime has accomplished anything that the Chinese people might regard as commendable.

This reviewer thinks the book suffers from the author's bitter hostility toward

the regime he is studying. This stands in the way of understanding the support the regime appears to enjoy. There is a good deal of testimony available on control of inflation, rehabilitation, construction, public health, education, and welfare for certain sections of the population, as well as the satisfaction of the nationalistic aspirations of China's youth. Many Asian visitors report themselves impressed by the enthusiasm and sense of purpose to rebuild the country which they noted in China. If such things are neglected, the picture of China today may be lopsided.

Possibly Professor Walker has overestimated the success of the Communist regime in mastering and remaking the Chinese people. He sees Chinese culture being destroyed, the speech habits and thought patterns of the people being radically changed, and fears that the day may not be far off when only a scattered few Chinese will have any knowledge of China's literary heritage. He believes that with the passing years specialists on communism, not Sinologists, will be best qualified to analyze events in China. Perhaps he is right. But the view minimizes the strength of Chinese culture, the power of national tradition. It seems to disregard the fact that Communists in China are Chinese, not Russians. This is an old debate. The reviewer would prefer to redress the balance a little in favor of the Chinese people.

The book is a conscientious and very useful survey of some of the most important developments in China under Communism. One learns a great deal from it. Yet it seems to the reviewer to suffer from being too near the events in time and yet too removed from them by the gulf which separates Americans from mainland China today.

Columbia University

C. MARTIN WILBUR

American History

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Richard Hofstadter* and *Walter P. Metzger*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xvi, 527. \$5.50.)

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN OUR TIME. By *Robert M. MacIver*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 329. \$4.00.)

PRODUCTS of the American Academic Freedom Project sponsored at Columbia by the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, these two volumes supplement one another both as they cover different periods of time and as they attack the common problem quite differently. The Hofstadter and Metzger book, a history, traces academic freedom from background situations in the medieval, especially the English, universities; it gives considerable attention to the colonial colleges and the "old-time" colleges of a century ago. Broadening the story between the Civil War and World War I, it develops the history of freedom in the universities, mainly, while the colleges recede in importance.

Professor MacIver chooses to discuss "Our Time"—the last four decades—according to very broad topics: "The Climate of Opinion," "The Lines of Attack on Academic Freedom," "The Student and the Teacher," and so on. He makes no subdivision of his materials according to either a chronology of external events, like war and peace, prosperity and depression, or a chronology of the history of education or the history of freedom. Though the historian-reader may approach such a study, bearing the title it does, with some of our craft's prejudice against the categorizations of sociology, he will be bound, if he is also a professor and a person sympathetic with the subject, to notice many value-judgments and many passages of exposition which indicate why MacIver was a natural choice to direct the Academic Freedom Project and to write the culminating book. For eloquent force of morality and logic I nominate the chapter on "The Academic Freedom of the Student"—which connects neatly with the discussion of *Lernfreiheit* in the other volume—as a superb presentation of the obligation of American universities to treat students like adults and citizens.

But in his narrower capacity as student the historian-reader will find little satisfaction in MacIver's text. The reasoning is often abstracted from event; definition and conception are sometimes quite loose; and the present reader would gladly have traded sizable passages on university government, for instance, for a few comparisons, which the author might have made, between academic freedom and problems of freedom and restraint in such neighboring professions as divinity and law. Most disappointing of all is MacIver's failure to build very much on a foundation supplied by Metzger in the final chapter of the earlier volume. In that place we are given the history of the early A.A.U.P., in years which were hot with public incident and academic controversy. But *Academic Freedom in Our Time* contains no proper sequel: the professors' principal effort for freedom is little discussed. Moreover the yardstick cases of academic freedom in recent years, those at the universities of Washington and California most notoriously, are given no more than ten pages altogether in a book thirty times as long. Although MacIver has indeed painted an idealistic portrait of academic freedom and has set it in a background of scholarship, he has refused his subject the honor of being delineated in full struggle and achievement, as the subject deserves.

The background history by Professors Hofstadter and Metzger, on the other hand, seems to me close to being required reading for academic men generally; and on the scale of scholarly achievement it is equally impressive. There is room to quarrel with the title, for to be reasonably descriptive it should have been something like "Three Centuries of Academic Organization and Freedom in America." Hofstadter's half, indeed, covering the first two hundred years and more, could contain almost nothing about academic freedom in today's meaning of individual freedom for schoolmen to teach, inquire, and present new findings. But Hofstadter caught the gleam, and, supplying the first broad and scholarly study of the national peculiarities of college government in America, he has enriched the general subject

enormously. In one chapter he points out that the eighteenth-century college president, as the single teacher in his institution who, more than drillmaster, discussed serious intellectual matter, became the center of development of academic independence. Reversing the current of total approbation which usually flows into the story of setting up frontier colleges, Hofstadter explains that every new institution stretched to farther thinness the tether of attachment to established centers of learning, the only places where much new knowledge gathers.

Picking up in 1865, Metzger discusses the emergence of the American university as a revolution in academic ideas and organization. The change-over has never been more broadly, or half as epigrammatically, described. "As long as conserving was the foremost ideal, academic freedom was freedom *for*, not *in*, the colleges," the author observes. But when the revolution occurred, with an assist from Charles Darwin, not only did academic freedom become a matter for individuals, it became also an inevitable line of battle. With trustees so prominent, so inexperienced, and so conservative, and with professors so determined to open up new fields, a crop of controversies was planted in the virgin soil of the universities, and a twenty-year yield of academic-freedom cases, 1875-1895, established the modern problem.

Toward understanding and reducing that tension the Columbia project—which connects with the university's bicentennial but the findings of which are sometimes not flattering to Columbia men of the past—offers a distinguished contribution.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume IX, AMERICAN COLONIAL DOCUMENTS TO 1776. Edited by *Merrill Jensen*, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 888. \$12.80.)

THE ninth volume of *English Historical Documents* will long be consulted in this country, for its 880 pages contain the most varied and complete collection of sources on our colonial history ever to be published in one book. In addition, the editor has included a long historical bibliography of "bibliographies, guides, source collections, periodicals, and modern works relating to American colonial history, 1607-1776." Great industry has gone into the assembling of these materials. The documents are intended to illustrate "various aspects of the internal history" of the English colonies, their relations with Great Britain and to "trace the evolution of the conflict" that led to independence. Diplomacy, and relations with the Indians, Spanish, French, and the West Indies are deliberately and wisely omitted. The arrangement is topical rather than chronological.

In choosing these 179 documents, Mr. Jensen sought primarily to illuminate our colonial history to 1776 for an English audience of students and scholars; had he prepared them for American readers, doubtless he would have made a some-

what different selection. Most of the documents in this volume come directly from such well-known collections as those of Thorpe, Hening, Force, Carroll, Hazard, Niles, and Pickering's *Statutes at Large*. Comparison of several items, picked at random, with the originals (as printed in these collections) indicates that the transcriptions have been accurately made. Where such works are known to be wholly reliable, use of them is both convenient and justifiable. In the case of the *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, however, J. R. Bartlett's transcription was so faulty, that one must go to the original manuscripts in the archives at Providence. Bartlett omitted, without indicating it, both acts and proceedings of the assembly, and his reading of words often proved not only faulty but grossly misleading. The added time needed to procure photostats of all known manuscript originals would have insured a collection on which scholars could absolutely depend and resulted in regular citation of "Jensen, *Eng. Hist. Docs.*, IX."

Any scholar naturally has his own ideas of which documents ought to be printed in a collection like this; and certainly this reviewer has no desire to cavil over individual omissions or inclusions. The choice of items is in the main conventional and will be acceptable to students on both sides of the Atlantic. But conventionality is the key to the fundamental weakness in the volume. It seems relevant and reasonable to point out that in a source book directed to the English that the basic cause of the American Revolution ought to be brought home to them: the gradual, inexorable, and radical divergence of the entire life of the colonists from that of the mother country, the steady maturing of the colonists by 1776 in ways social and cultural as well as political and economic. Whatever their weaknesses, American historians are far ahead of the English in exploring social, cultural, and intellectual history, especially in the colonial period, and the English ought to be shown some of the results. Eric Robson's otherwise excellent new volume on the *American Revolution*, for example, completely misses this point of colonial maturity. Less of laws (such as those forbidding manufactures) and more of actual happenings would contribute to this end; and more samples of that colonial reasoning that so impressed Burke and Chatham would do likewise. One cannot find in this volume anything about the social scene, the press, crafts, literature, maritime life, colonial medicine and science, and above all, Puritanism in its American phase. And how many Englishmen have ever read *Common Sense*, the document that reveals the emotional side of the separation as does nothing else? What of the rising standard of living of the colonists, their charity and humanitarianism, their accomplishment in the arts, and what of immigration? These matters seem to have as much relevance as, if not more than, several of the broad topics chosen.

These strictures notwithstanding, Mr. Jensen has supplied a tool for the study of colonial history which is of the first importance.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

CITIES IN REVOLT: URBAN LIFE IN AMERICA, 1743-1776. By Carl Bridenbaugh. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xiii, 434, xxi. \$7.50.)

WITH this informative and penetrating volume Carl Bridenbaugh brings to completion the analysis of urban life and problems during the colonial period which he began so auspiciously in his *Cities in the Wilderness* (1938). These two studies, supplemented as they are by *Rebels and Gentlemen* (1942), *The Colonial Craftsman* (1950), and *Myths and Realities* (1952), all dealing with particular facets of his general theme, stamp the author as the unquestioned and undisputed authority on this aspect of American history. And the five volumes when viewed collectively must be regarded as a monumental achievement in the annals of American historiography.

In the volume under review the author considers urban developments of the years 1743 to 1776, as exemplified in the cities of Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston (the five urban centers which he examined in his first volume), with incidental attention to some of the larger towns of the time. Dividing the period at 1760, he treats his subject under the two general headings of "War, Expansion, and Prosperity" and "Depression, Tension, and Revolt."

With a sure hand, Mr. Bridenbaugh shows us not merely the problems created for the cities by their growth under the impact of wartime conditions but also the manner in which they sought to solve them. And in his discussion of "Civic Improvements" he makes it abundantly clear that before the end of the colonial era the five cities had achieved a maturity which made them more than a match for "English and Continental provincial cities" of the time.

But, notable as was the progress of the cities along material lines, it was in the realm of the spirit that they achieved their greatest distinction. With much erudition the author traces the evolution of the five communities as the cultural centers of the country; and his evidence of this cultural flowering is the more impressive when viewed in conjunction with his earlier consideration (in *Rebels and Gentlemen*) of Philadelphia culture in the time of Franklin. He rightly concludes that "with very few exceptions, the culture of the late colonial period was of urban origin."

Mr. Bridenbaugh, however, is not content merely to marshal, and to interpret in brilliant fashion, the facts of social and cultural life of the time. In this volume he is explicit in his statement of a thesis. "Constant communication, arising out of the needs of commerce" fused the urban communities "into an integrated society." In each of the five cities "certain common physical, economic, cultural, and social characteristics accentuated the homogeneity" in sharp contrast to the marked diversity in rural areas, north and south. And, according to the author, "achievement of the integration of urban elements was an essential prelude to independence."

This frankly urban interpretation of the American Revolution will undoubtedly elicit a degree of dissent. Some will think it too simple an explanation of a highly

complex series of events. Others will believe that the course of the Revolutionary movements in Virginia and Pennsylvania cannot be fitted into this formula.

This reviewer knows no one who has so completely mastered the art of writing social history as has the author of this book. But even his deftness is at times unable to surmount a difficulty which seems to inhere in this kind of history, namely, the need to catalogue long lists of persons. When the names of twenty-five different individuals, plus a goodly quota of place names, appear on a single page (p. 270) no amount of skill by the author can make that page read easily. But this is a minor defect which cannot detract greatly from the intrinsic worth of a notable book.

Readers of this volume will be annoyed when they look in vain for citations of authority for the author's statements. For reasons of economy the copious notes are omitted—a regrettable procedure in a book so important and so crammed with factual material. At a thousand points the reader will wonder as to the sources used by the author. Some will be comforted to know that the notes are available in five different libraries between Cambridge and Berkeley. Others will be glad to learn that a copy of them in multilithed form may be had upon mailing fifty cents to the author.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE. By *Talbot Hamlin*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxxvi, 633. \$15.00.)

WHEN Talbot Hamlin published his study in 1944 on Greek Revival architecture in America, surprisingly little was known of Benjamin Latrobe, the British-trained architect-engineer, aside from his major buildings. This lacuna was all the more frustrating because, as Hamlin pointed out at the time, Latrobe's descendants possessed a large collection of documents on their famous forebear, including one of the most urbane and extensive journals of the period. At last, in a full-scale study which is as much a labor of love as of scholarship, Hamlin recounts the tragic career of this friend of Jefferson. He laid the foundations of professionalism in architecture in America at a time when building was dominated by the often beautiful, but conservative, Palladianisms of the carpenter's manual and the bumptious frontier mentality of clients who felt an architect's fee hardly worth paying where builders obligingly "threw in" the esthetics gratis in the course of construction.

Despite the largely unsympathetic environment in which he worked, Latrobe's architectural accomplishment was impressive. In his Bank of Philadelphia of 1798, he created "the country's first Greek Revival structure and also the first building in which masonry vaults were used integrally as a major means for achieving architectural effect" (p. 153). In his first chamber for the House of Representatives, in the national capitol, he realized what "when it was completed in 1811

was undoubtedly the most beautiful legislative chamber in the Western world" (p. 272), and one might accord equivalent praise to the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore, built from 1804 to 1818. His domestic planning was magnificent: big, strong, beautifully varied spaces arranged at once for convenience and ceremony.

It was this integration of function and construction with beauty which distinguished the work of the professional from even the most elegant application of Adamesque-Palladian ornament by the carpenter-builder. The largeness of his conceptions appeared in his stripped cubic forms applicable to a gracious but forceful domestic style, to bold monumentality, or to the powerful simplicity of engineering works. Hamlin's study demonstrates anew how closely engineering was linked to architecture during the Greek Revival. In large part this interest in engineering by Latrobe's immediate successors stemmed from his example, interested as he was in water systems, canals, roads, and bridges, as well as in steam engines.

Hamlin examines Latrobe's varied professional career with a discernment at once objective, sympathetic, and wide ranging. This reviewer would cavil only at the author's failure to provide a more extensive analysis of Latrobe's achievement with respect to that of those contemporaries abroad—Dance and Soane in England, Ledoux in France, Gilly and later Schinkel in Germany—who shared Latrobe's architectural ideals. But Hamlin's theme is larger than Latrobe's professional career. He projects this career against the society in which Latrobe lived and worked.

The result is a heroic chapter in the development of American culture—and a heartbreaking one as well. In part because of his own naïve and trusting idealism, in part because of his high professional standards, in part because of the unsympathetic environment in which he worked, the greatest American architect before Richardson wasted most of his time and talents in bickerings with clients and bureaucrats, in law suits, and in an incredibly painful series of speculative ventures to recoup his fortunes. Throughout his tortured career it was his nobility of character and sense of high purpose, together with the loyalty and affection of his wife, that enabled him to accomplish so much for his adopted country before he was stricken with yellow fever while in New Orleans supervising the construction of the city water works, and died in mid-career destitute and almost forgotten.

Brown University

WILLIAM H. JORDY

MEMOIRS OF AMERICAN JEWS, 1775-1865. In three volumes. Volumes I and II. By *Jacob Rader Marcus*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1955. Pp. xiv, 387; x, 375. \$4.00 ea.)

ALTHOUGH a number of histories of the Jews in America have been written, only limited studies of the documents on which history should be based have been made. Particularly neglected hitherto has been the ninety-year period from the

Revolution to the Civil War, which has been referred to as the "dead period." Professor Jacob R. Marcus, director of the American Jewish Archives housed at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, has filled one part of the gap admirably in these two volumes by collecting the personal stories of forty Jews active in the United States at some time between 1775 and 1865.

The narratives vary in fullness and substance, from sketchy memoirs that reflect only fragments of the outward features of the lives of the writers to accounts of such completeness that the reader can feel the writer's emotions and think his thoughts. By far the greater number were written self-consciously, at the request of others or for the benefit of children or grandchildren. Even the most artless of these has the character of an artifact, so that they require elaborate cross-checking before being used as sources for history. A few, however, and these by no means the least interesting, were composed as diaries; written for self-reminder rather than for an audience, the diary extracts, even when they are full of posturings, like that of young Joseph Lyons, bear the stamp of authenticity.

Some of the names to be met in these pages are well known in American history; others, although their services to the country were no less important, failed to achieve either note or notoriety. Some of these names are particularly familiar to American-Jewish historians. But, in addition to these, Dr. Marcus has brought to light a number of lesser figures whose march across the stage of life was unaccompanied by fanfare; the sketches of these "unimportant" lives are most revealing, for they bring into focus the day-to-day life of the average American Jew of that time. Difficulties of immigrant adjustment, local anti-Jewish feeling in a nation that had officially proclaimed itself neutral on religious questions, the joys and sorrows of success and failure, shrewd observations on the life and manners of their neighbors—all this is to be found in these memoirs.

Dr. Marcus' "Introduction," though extremely general, is a useful setting of the framework for these forty memoirs. It is to be hoped that he and others will continue to tap the rich resources of the American Jewish Archives and so to bring new life to this interesting period of American-Jewish history.

Columbia University

JOSEPH L. BLAU

STRANGERS IN THE LAND: PATTERNS OF AMERICAN NATIVISM, 1860-1925. By *John Higham*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 431. \$6.00.)

THIS volume will be welcomed by everyone who is seriously interested in the history of American immigration. It is the most detailed study we have of the antiforeign spirit in America, from 1860 to 1925, and analyzes its various patterns, its ebb and flow, and what has been accomplished in terms of measurable results.

Three major elements have always been present in American nativism—anti-Catholicism, the fear of foreign radicals, and the concept of a superior Anglo-

Saxon race, but they were manifested in various ways, for various reasons, in different periods of our history. The antiforeign movement of ante-bellum days melted away after the Civil War in an age of confidence, prosperity, and expansion, when immigrants were considered a national blessing, and the West and South were eager to attract additional settlers. In the 1880's, and more specifically from 1885 to 1897, the optimism of Americans with reference to their assimilative powers was rudely challenged by calamity and discontent, city slums and political corruption, and it was easy to blame the immigrant when times were out of joint. Modern nativism dates from the labor upheavals of the 1880's, Catholic insistence upon parochial schools, and the rise of a new nationalism. The little red school-house became a symbol of patriotism. Organized labor, after considerable reluctance and vacillation, favored a literacy test in 1897; sharp distinctions were drawn between the "old" and the "new" immigration; and anti-Catholicism found its most rampant expression in the "Bible Belt" of the West and South, through the A.P.A., which blamed industrial depression on papal subversion and circulated the bogus encyclical of Leo XIII. In due time, Henry Cabot Lodge and other New England Brahmins unfurled the banner of Anglo-Saxon race superiority and advocated a literacy test to restrict and refine immigration. South Europeans and the "international Jew" were the new fifth column in the minds of nativists who once regarded the Irish as the greatest threat to the Republic.

In the late 1890's, confidence, prosperity, and complacency returned, and Americans let off steam in the jingoism and imperialism of the war of 1898. By this time, also, immigrants were sufficiently organized to fight back at the polls. Slowly, nativist arguments shifted to a new racism, supported by Darwinism, eugenics, and theories of "race suicide," and the white race was divided into Aryans and non-Aryans. Before World War I, nativism again was on the increase. Jack London espoused the doctrines of race superiority; Tom Watson and the *Menace* battered away at the pope, and class conflict revived the antiradical phase of nativism. World War I and the Red Scare completed the process; the American Legion made itself the guardian of national orthodoxy, and the 1920's were marked by an incredible amount of violence and denial of due process of law, climaxed by the Ku Klux Klan. Nordic America fought hard against the "mongrelization" of the race; Americans lost confidence in their powers of assimilation, and the gates at last were closed by the quota laws.

Even so long a review leaves many phases of this complicated story untouched. This book should be read slowly, studied and pondered. The author has a "point of view" (with which this reviewer agrees), but he has been unusually fair and objective in dealing with a subject so supercharged with emotion. One would wish that the "makers of policy," as well as the scholars, could be induced to read this book. It is disturbing to find a persistent virus in the American bloodstream, hard to separate from Hitler's views on race, and so contrary to the principles of democracy and brotherhood which we profess. The author has threaded his way

in and out of the complicated political, social, economic, and intellectual phases of his story. Sixty-seven pages of footnotes and a bibliographical essay of twelve pages, testify to his effort to be thorough and objective. The style is clear and distinguished by a scholar's discriminating use of words.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITKE

A HISTORY OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU. By *George R. Bentley*, University of Florida. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1955. Pp. x, 298. \$5.00.)

A PROMINENT Southern historian once expressed the opinion that "no more difficult task can confront the historical investigator than to attempt to form a just estimate of the work, character, and general influence of the Freedmen's Bureau." Its work was complex; its character was far from simple; and some of its proponents were motivated by an idealistic desire to help the newly emancipated slaves, while others thought of it primarily as a tool for exploiting that part of the country where the freedmen lived.

Paul S. Peirce undertook the task of describing the Freedmen's Bureau fifty years ago in a work that was carefully detailed and gave easy access to much factual information (*The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction*, Iowa City, 1904). But many source materials have become available since Peirce wrote, notably the unpublished records of the bureau itself and the papers of Oliver O. Howard, its commissioner. Access to these two sources alone would justify a new treatment of the subject.

Tracing the history of the bureau from its earliest inception (and including two chapters on its forerunners) to its final liquidation in 1872, with especial attention to the interplay of forces affecting its organization and administration in Washington, as well as its operations on the state and local levels, Professor Bentley presents a sound and illuminating account of the bureau's activity. Of particular significance also is his treatment, implicit in the work as a whole, of the character of Oliver O. Howard and his work as commissioner of the bureau.

It seems to this reviewer that the account of the bureau's unsuccessful venture into the field of banking might have been more fully developed than in the two pages allotted to this subject (pp. 146-47). This, however, may be merely a recognition by the author that he has found nothing materially to add to Walter L. Fleming's *The Freedmen's Savings Bank*, published in 1927.

Professor Bentley's study, originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin, conforms to the best standards of historical scholarship. It well merits the recognition of its excellence shown by its selection for the Albert J. Beveridge Award of the American Historical Association in 1953.

University of North Carolina

JAMES W. PATTON

PHRENOLOGY, FAD AND SCIENCE: A 19th-CENTURY AMERICAN CRUSADE. By *John D. Davies*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 62.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 203. \$3.75.)

PRESENT readers recall phrenology only as a pseudo-science—as one of the “fads and fancies” of the mid-nineteenth century. Social historians dismiss it as an eccentricity unworthy of attention. Medical historians, in contrast, take the subject seriously. But they deal with the original, scientific aspects of phrenology rather than with its tangential evolution into a cult of personal improvement and social reform. It is with this latter theme that Mr. Davies is primarily concerned. He amply demonstrates that the now-disdained movement permeated and influenced many currents of American thought between 1825 and 1860.

The present study is based on a thorough use of the sources, is written with spirit, and is clear and well organized throughout. As far as the reviewer knows, there is no other treatment of the subject which is comparable in scope or insight. Since the focus is on the American story, the author reviews the origins of phrenology very briefly, and omits much of the European background out of which emerged the “original idea” of Franz J. Gall (1758–1828). But it is made clear that this Austrian physician was probably the first scientist who attempted “to study the mind objectively, without metaphysical preconceptions.” He was, for this reason, the precursor of those who later pursued cerebral localization and other medical and psychological approaches to individual behavior. It is also made clear that J. G. Spurzheim, in modifying Gall’s pessimistic opinions concerning human nature (as revealed in the cranium), thereby made phrenology over into a doctrine of perfectibility.

Such a view seemed made to order for optimistic Americans, since it offered an apparently scientific sanction for their most cherished hopes—to say nothing of their illusions. The author implies that, in consequence, the American flowering of phrenology was far more lush than anything which occurred in Europe. Although this was probably the case, little of the comparative, overseas evidence is actually presented.

The transit of phrenology to the United States, about 1825 to 1840, is followed in terms of the many prominent persons who embraced it with enthusiasm. There were others, equally respectable, who attacked phrenology sharply as either unscientific (speculative) or irreligious (materialistic) in character. The mechanisms of the movement are noted (lectures, societies, publications), and their effective use in popularizing the gospel is made apparent. A good picture appears, for example, of the operations of that extraordinary pair of lecturers and publishers Orson Fowler and Samuel Wells—“the duke” and “the king,” so to speak, of the American movement. In the 1840’s and ’50’s popularization descended to vulgarization at the hands of such men, who made a business of “reading bumps” and who blended phrenology with any other cult which promised financial returns.

Such vulgarization, combined with scientific developments, led to the repudia-

tion of phrenology on educated levels after the 1860's; but this did not occur until the doctrine had played its part in the whole flowering of a secular religion of reform. That this role was impressive is made clear in the second section of the book, which analyzes the influence exerted by phrenology upon such categories as psychiatry, penology, education, literature, and religion. Indeed, scarcely any phase of contemporary thought was immune to this stimulus or blight, as one wishes to view it.

In his conclusions, Mr. Davies points out that the vitality of phrenology lay in its social philosophy, and in the fact that this philosophy was just what Americans wished to believe in a time of "progress" and social ferment. Yet phrenology did more than reflect contemporary aspirations. By combining a "scientific" explanation of human behavior with moral idealism, it provided "a way station on the road to a secular view of life."

Johns Hopkins University

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

EMPIRE ON THE PACIFIC: A STUDY IN AMERICAN CONTINENTAL EXPANSION. By *Norman A. Graebner*, Professor of History, Iowa State College. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1955. Pp. ix, 278. \$4.50.)

THE talented author of this stimulating volume argues that historians have exaggerated the role played by the spirit of manifest destiny in the expansionism of the 1840's. Neither the overland migrations nor eastern public opinion, he maintains, "had any direct bearing" on the diplomacy that won Oregon and California for the United States. Instead the principal objective of every statesman from Jackson on was maritime: the acquisition of the harbors at San Diego, San Francisco, and the Strait of Juan de Fuca as gateways to the trade of the Orient. "Land was necessary to them merely as a right of way to ocean ports—a barrier to be spanned by improved avenues of commerce." This diplomacy reached a climax under Polk, "who was as narrowly mercantile" in viewpoint as Webster. His policies, "aimed primarily at San Francisco and San Diego," triumphed with the Trist mission and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Thus mercantile ambitions, "relentlessly pursued" by two generations of statesmen, gave America "its empire on the Pacific."

Upon this premise, Professor Graebner has built a convincing reinterpretation of the diplomacy of the 1840's. The Oregon settlement at the 49th parallel, he argues, was possible only because Polk's real ambition was the harbors lying behind the Strait of Juan de Fuca; both the President and the Democratic party were able to back down gracefully from their extreme demands when they achieved all that those in influential positions really desired. Similarly Polk's determination to acquire the San Diego and San Francisco harbors underlay his interest in the Mexican War. When these plans seemed on the point of being frustrated by sudden Whig opposition to expansion at the expense of Mexico, and by a division among

the congressional Democrats on the issue, the President was forced to resort to private diplomacy. Nicholas Trist, his agent, performed his functions admirably, securing the commercial outlets that alone interested the President; Trist emerges from this analysis as a far more successful diplomat than previously pictured.

In telling this story, Professor Graebner has used few sources not previously examined by historians; he has read carefully most of the manuscript and printed records of the era, but so have dozens of others before him. Instead he has reached his conclusions by examining his evidence from a fresh perspective—from the sea rather than the land—and by reappraising the motives of statesmen in the light of this approach. This viewpoint allows him to fashion a narrative in which the diplomatic events fall into a neat pattern; one that by its tightly knit logic creates an impression of the “whole truth” that is not quite justified by the evidence.

The author, of course, would be the last to deny the concept of multiple causation; in his early chapters he pays proper tribute to the role played by the overland pioneers in the eventual diplomatic victories of the United States. Their importance, however, tends to diminish as his story progresses, until they virtually vanish from the picture. Was their part in the eventual settlements as insignificant as he suggests? A few hypothetical questions will help provide an answer. Would the Hudson’s Bay Company have moved its headquarters from Fort Vancouver, and thus allow Lord Aberdeen to prepare British opinion for the surrender of the “core” area north of the Columbia, had not American pioneers occupied the Willamette Valley? Would the pressure of commercial interests have been sufficient to convince Americans that California was fair prey had not the overland emigrants and the riotous Bear Flaggers persuaded them that the fall of this abandoned Mexican province was inevitable? Would not the unstoppable advance of the frontiersmen have led inevitably to the peopling, and acquisition, of all the West whether or not commercial leaders wanted Pacific harbors?

Professor Graebner has provided historians with an important new interpretation which they cannot ignore in their analysis of the diplomacy of the 1840’s. But his readers should not be lured by his logic or his sparkling prose into such complete acceptance of his position that they forget the vital role played by either the overland pioneers or the tub-thumpers for manifest destiny in the history of American expansion.

Northwestern University

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

BROOKS ADAMS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Arthur F. Beringause*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xiii, 404, x. \$6.00.)

In 1943 Charles Beard wrote that, when researches into the history of American ideas have been thoroughly made, “a sober judgment will give a primary place in American historiography to the work of Brooks Adams.” Except to a few specialists the name of Brooks Adams was little known. Yet long before his death in

1927 his books, especially *The Law of Civilization and Decay* and *America's Economic Supremacy*, had proved exciting to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Theodore Roosevelt. In 1951 the first extensive consideration of Brooks Adams' ideas appeared, Dr. Thornton Anderson's *Brooks Adams, Constructive Conservative*, a book which is still useful. Now we have in Arthur Beringause's full-length biography a study likely to remain the standard work.

Mr. Beringause has used materials opened to him by the Adams Manuscript Trust and has gone beyond his predecessors in illuminating his theme by recourse to collateral manuscript collections. He has given more attention than anyone else to the sources of Brooks Adams' ideas, to the reception of his books, and to their relation to subsequent thought. Beringause also corrects statements and dissents from judgments of previous scholars, including Parrington, Worthington C. Ford, Beard, Garraty, Aaron, Williams, and others. In the mooted question of the influence of Brooks on Henry and Henry on Brooks, he sides with Blackmur rather than with Beard or Jordy. And Mr. Beringause is the first to recreate the personality of an extraordinary curmudgeon, a personality marked by an enormous appetite for action and by a profound pessimism, by almost endless paradoxes and conceits.

Mr. Beringause strikes a nice balance between the things that make Brooks Adams an important thinker and those that reveal his serious limitations. We are given a fair estimate of the blow he struck at the filiopietistic historians in *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*. We see the points at which Brooks Adams corrected Gibbon and Marx. We also see wherein he anticipated many of the ideas of Max Weber, Haushofer, Veblen, Spengler, and Beard. The brilliant *Law of Civilization and Decay* (1895), was, as Beard noted, the first serious attempt of an American to survey the broad scope of world history in search of a scientific law to explain it. Brooks Adams anticipated subsequent developments in his emphasis on the need for specialization in education. He was, with others, a pioneer in stressing the importance of a psychological-social approach to law. With Mahan, who influenced him, he provided a rationale for American colonialism. He foresaw the world-wide economic supremacy of America and her conflict with Russia and China. He was prescient in his admiration for the efficient management of big business and in his arguments for conformity, for national planning, and for a service state.

On the other hand, Brooks Adams' thought, as Beringause makes clear, was limited by an unswerving adherence to Social Darwinism. His psychology was based on a mechanistic thesis which subordinated all human activities and potentialities to fear and greed. Out of his Social Darwinism sprang his unsparing indictment of feminism, his vitriolic anti-Semitism and racism, ideas which even in his time rested on inadequate evidence. His worship of the idea of an elite and his profound and bitter contempt for democracy represented a rationalization

of his own prejudices and frustrations. So did his glorification of military leaders, military education, war, and imperialism.

Mr. Beringause is aware of other serious limitations in the thought of the man whose brilliance, originality, and insights he fully recognizes. He might have emphasized even more than he does Brooks Adams' serious misunderstanding of the science of which he made a fetish and his complete failure to grasp scientific method. Brooks Adams' limitations also include his unstinted use of historical facts to support a preconceived thesis, an undue tendency to read the present into the past, and the lack of any self-criticism of his own underlying presuppositions and conceptual framework. Perhaps the most important thing for us in the story of Brooks Adams is not his protofascism and the prescient ideas which intrigued Beard and subsequent students of Adams. It is rather that the story illustrates the peril of taking too seriously current intellectual fashions and symptoms of immediately impending crisis, and, especially, of universalizing personal and national ideologies and of becoming intoxicated with the sense of national power.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

WOODROW WILSON AND THE BALANCE OF POWER. By *Edward H. Buehrig*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 325. \$5.00.)

THE mystery of how a sizable book could be written on Wilson and the balance of power is quickly solved when the reader finds surprisingly little Wilson and almost no balance of power. The volume is really a series of loosely connected essays, prepared by an able political scientist at Indiana University, on aspects of our involvement in World War I and with emphasis on the evolution of Wilson's policy. Some of the chapters, especially those on the role of the submarine, remind one in coverage and conclusions of Charles Seymour's *American Neutrality, 1914-1917* (1935). The book has no readily recognizable pattern and builds up to no real climax. The submarine is disposed of in the early chapters—a technique equivalent to killing the villain in the first act and then resorting to flash-backs.

The documents of this era have already been subjected to such minute scrutiny, including the warped probing of senatorial sleuths, that anything strikingly novel is likely to be unsound. Dr. Buehrig's spade has turned up few new basic facts. Much of the book is bottomed on familiar published sources, chiefly the old meat-and-potato documentary standbys, with some attention to the unpublished Anderson and Wilson papers. The only previously unexploited manuscript materials of any consequence appear to be the Lansing diaries. The papers of House, Bryan, Root, and Roosevelt were evidently not consulted directly, and there is no footnote recognition of previous laborers in the vineyard like Charles Seymour, Harley Notter, and Arthur S. Link. As far as immediate causation is concerned, and to the

surprise of no one, the German U-boat appears as the real culprit, while American financiers and munitioneers get off with a relatively clean bill of health.

Dr. Beuhrig writes with refreshing vigor, clarity, and objectivity. Showing frequent flashes of insight and a genuine gift for dealing with ideas in the large, he will gratify the orthodox. He avoids going off the deep end with the hypothesis, widely voiced by journalists during World War II, that we "rushed" into World War I to save the balance of power and to keep the North Atlantic shipping lanes open. He concludes that if we had insisted on our right to trade with a slowly sinking Germany, the Berlin government might not have been goaded into desperate expedients. His most arresting contributions are in showing that Secretary Lansing was more influentially pro-Ally than we had supposed, and that President Wilson was not the egg-headed idealist of popular stereotype. A flexible statesman with a solid grasp of international realities, evolved his policy from a stiff-backed defense of neutral rights, through great-power mediation, to reliance on the all-protecting shield of collective security. He would supplant the dangerous old balance of power, which he abhorred, with the new League of Nations, which he embraced. As the tragic sequel proved, he was one war ahead of his time.

Stanford University

THOMAS A. BAILEY

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA: A HISTORY. By *David A. Shannon*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1955. Pp. xi, 320. \$4.50.)

THE Socialist party, according to Professor Shannon, was the outgrowth of "a long and strong tradition of American economic heterodoxy." In its earlier years, between its founding in 1901 and World War I, it displayed the characteristics and behavior typical of successful American political parties, namely, a willingness to compromise the demands and subordinate the conflicts of the rather heterogeneous groups which composed the party in the expectation of the winning of political power. Two good chapters are devoted to the regional, ethnic, and occupational groups which composed the party during those years. Shannon believes that it was not unreasonable for socialists then to hope, in view of the mounting returns at the ballot box, that they would indeed soon come to power by democratic means. Nothing dignifies like success, even the hope of it, and the reviewer at least is inclined to wonder whether Shannon has not unduly dignified his account of the early phase of the Socialist party by employing the concepts now in vogue for analyzing the behavior of the two major parties. In any event, as Shannon sees it, the loss of the capacity or the will to compromise factional differences marked the degeneration of the pragmatic political party into the doctrinaire political sect insistent upon doctrinal purity. This transformation began about 1909, and was hastened by war, the Bolshevik revolution, and persecution. By the mid-1920's, the party, wracked by expulsions and resignations, was moribund, and

the brief Indian-summer revival under Thomas merely delayed its ultimate demise. Not even the temporary collapse of capitalism in the depression could save it.

Here is a straightforward institutional interpretation of the phenomenon of American socialism to take its place beside the more ideological and psychological analyses which have appeared in recent years. It is one well worth having. Professor Shannon's research has been exhaustive, and he writes in the best tradition of academic detachment; so much so that at times the reader may regret the lack of emphasis which results from the remoteness of the historian's stance. Professor Shannon's matter-of-fact commitment to the principles of political democracy and liberty is comprehensive enough to embrace the socialists, whom he undertakes to treat with dispassionate sympathy. But although he has written an institutional rather than an ideological history, he is not thereby enabled entirely to avoid the ideological issues raised by American socialism. One has the feeling that the author's sympathies lie with the Center and Right groups within the party, chiefly because they seemed more "practical," and professed allegiance to the parliamentary principle. Yet it was these same groups who on occasion used their control of the central party machinery to perpetuate their power in spite of a popular majority opposed to them. In the controversial party balloting of 1919, the Old Guard assured its party control by nullifying the National Committee election on the grounds of alleged election frauds. Professor Shannon hurries over this sorry episode with evident distaste, and he relegates to the obscurity of a backnote his own conclusion that even after discarding fraudulent votes the Left Wing still had a majority. In calling attention to this curious procedure the reviewer's intention is not to accuse Shannon of yielding to a personal bias, but rather to suggest that he has not thought through his problem of balancing institutional accomplishments and ideological commitments.

A concluding chapter reviews competently the internal and external reasons for the failure of the Socialist party. Much stress is again laid on the failure of the party to behave as a successful party in the United States "must" behave. But as the author himself acknowledges, much of this requisite behavior is defined by the two-party equilibrium which has long characterized our national politics. How a third party is to adapt itself to a two-party world is a semantic or logical puzzle which history itself should hardly be asked to solve.

State University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

THE AGE OF REFORM: FROM BRYAN TO F.D.R. By *Richard Hofstadter*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. viii, 328, xx. \$4.50.)

LIKE the automobile, industrialism and private capitalism are here to stay, and from this unstated assumption, Professor Hofstadter takes a new look at the reform movements between 1890 and World War I. There is a sort of postscript

chapter on the New Deal which, he informs us, "should not be taken as a full exploration"; it is here included that the reader may better understand through comparison and contrast the Populism and the Progressivism, the subjects forming the core of this volume. These movements Hofstadter interprets only in part in terms of economic determinism. Though agricultural depression with falling prices admittedly sharpened the Populist movement, the middle-class, largely urban Progressive movement occurred at a time of high prosperity. In one of the most enlightening sections in his book, Hofstadter interprets this second reform movement as the result of a status revolution. Relating the Progressives to the Mugwumps, he finds that the native American, well educated and earning a living through a profession, was thrust aside by new groups and new forces into a position where he felt his influence was, compared to the old days, negligible. Through Progressivism he struck back. "In the attempts of Populist and Progressive to hold on to some of the values of agrarian life, to save personal entrepreneurship and individual opportunity and the character type they engendered, and to maintain a homogeneous Yankee civilization, I have found much that was retrograde and delusive, a little that was vicious, and a good deal that was comic," Hofstadter announces in his introduction.

He accomplishes this revaluation largely through new insights upon secondary material or easily available printed sources. He has, however, rescued from oblivion a number of unpublished doctoral dissertations and some of the more detailed and apocalyptic outgivings of Mary Lease, Ignatius Donnelly, and "Coin" Harvey. Nor is the new approach confined to domestic policy. Hofstadter realizes there was a Populist and Progressive foreign policy, xenophobic, and, if not imperialist, in favor of "good wars." Any book is a revelation of the author's intellectual evolution. In a thinker less interesting and less influential than Hofstadter, this would be a matter of little concern. In my opinion, in spite of his new approaches, Hofstadter still fails to question some of the verbalisms and conceptions, the clichés of a former intellectual environment which he has now left behind. Probably like most middle-of-the-roadsers he will be belabored from both sides, by self-christened "liberals" to whom the American reform past is sacrosanct because "its heart was in the right place," and by the "new conservatives" with whom Hofstadter admits he is uncomfortable.

Like the Civil War, the age of reform seems to have a perennial appeal. Both events have created a considerable literature and have also strained the inventiveness of historians to name them accurately. In the case of the period here under review, it may well be questioned whether reform was its dominant characteristic. Be that as it may, this is for my money the best book on Populism and Progressivism. Its eminence derives not from cleverness or flippancy but from the tautness and cogency of its analysis. Furthermore, though Hofstadter has an eye for the ironies, he is no hop-head, drugged by paradoxes, real and imaginary. He has too much respect for his readers to wish either to mystify or dazzle

them. Here is understanding, pursued with integrity and transmitted to others with skill.

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

THE PASSING OF AMERICAN NEUTRALITY. By *Donald F. Drummond*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1955. Pp. vi, 409. \$7.50.)

WHILE Mr. Drummond has chosen to work an already well-tilled field, he has done so with industry, economy, and, it seems to me, good judgment. He has compressed into his 409 pages a complete and detailed history of American foreign policy from the peak of isolationist neutrality marked by the Neutrality Act of 1937 down to the acceptance of global war in December, 1941. He has remembered the domestic political and emotional pressures which guided its many twists and turns; he has kept its many different aspects—in Europe, the Far East, North Africa, on the Atlantic, toward Latin America—in a sound balance. He has gone with detail into the final months of the crisis with Japan and has in general placed every step of the complicated record in clear relation with the others. He seems to have examined all the available English-language sources, including manuscript sources from the State Department and the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park.

The result is a solid and documented answer to the question of how and why the United States, firmly isolationist in general outlook at the beginning of the period, found itself five years later committed to history's greatest struggle. The answer is historical, not polemical; so far as possible, Mr. Drummond tries to present the record and allow it to speak for itself. Yet at many points interpretative judgment is unavoidable. The record itself is enough, of course, to demolish the more grotesque fantasies which have been evolved by the extreme isolationists and anti-Rooseveltians—such as the myth that Roosevelt deliberately used the Pearl Harbor fleet as “bait” for a Japanese attack. On more properly debatable points his emphases and inferences are moderate, reasonable, and persuasive.

He brings out the extent to which American policy in 1938–1939 was tinged with appeasement; its basically defensive character down to the end, and the persistence with which it confined its efforts to influence events to “the use of moral force, legal argument and economic measures—all so contrived as to avoid military and political guarantees of any kind whatever.” In two ways, particularly, he restores a sound perspective: one in showing that the sea war already under way in the latter part of 1941 really carried little risk of a major intervention (which Hitler had every desire to avert); the other in moving the center of attention in regard to Pacific events back from the crises of November and December, 1941, to the “freezing” order of July 26. It was this economic embargo which presented Japan with the real ultimatum—“surrender or fight”—and by the same token placed American policy in a position in which it would either have to fight or surrender. All the subsequent maneuvering, about which so much controversy has

raged, was largely beside the point, having been directed merely toward postponing a crisis which had become "inevitable."

The record seems adequately to sustain the final words of the author's concluding summary: "The American government followed a clear set of objectives with persistence and skill from the fall of France to the attack on Pearl Harbor. This did not avert war. . . . But the alternative—to do nothing—might have resulted in disaster. As it was, the United States entered the war with a basic plan and a corresponding if partial deployment of forces which led to ultimate victory."

New York, N. Y.

WALTER MILLIS

MEMOIRS BY HARRY S. TRUMAN. Volume I, YEAR OF DECISIONS. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1955. Pp. xi, 596. \$5.00.)

HAD a professional historian assisted ex-President Truman in the preparation of his memoirs, they would probably have turned out to be very different from the volume actually published. As the first of two volumes, the scale seems quite out of proportion; Truman hardly completes his reminiscences for the year 1945. The story of his early life is sandwiched in between an account of his accession to the Presidency and the main body of materials on his experience in the White House. There is much direct quotation from documents, which does not add to the flow of the narrative. And, if we are to place any credence at all in the outraged howls that have come from some of the former President's associates, the narrative is not of indisputable accuracy. Within the short space of a month after publication, Leo Crowley, James Byrnes, Henry Wallace, and Francis Biddle had all challenged one or another of Truman's statements. In at least two of these four cases, the weight of the evidence, as it seems to the reviewer, is not on the side of the author.

But perhaps this is not the right way to look at the memoir of an ex-President. Possibly what is more important is to ask what it reveals about the personality of the author and what light it sheds on the problems with which it deals. From the first point of view, the general picture of the man cannot be regarded as otherwise than favorable. Indeed, it is more than favorable. The simplicity and the devotion to family which is shown in the letters to "Dear Mama and Mary" is highly admirable. The achievements of the famous Truman Committee on the National Defense Program are interestingly narrated, and they make it clear that the senator from Missouri was a highly useful public servant long before his nomination for the Vice-Presidency. The first year in the Presidency was a year in which the new Chief Executive, faced with a crushing burden, and in no way prepared by his predecessor in office to assume it, began to master his problem. The picture is one of a man who worked hard at his office, who brought common sense and courage to the performance of his task, who struck an excellent balance between the delegation of power and the assumption of ultimate responsibility, who was forthright and clear on essentials, and who gained in strength as he

gained in experience. What other Vice-President, save only Theodore Roosevelt, has risen so clearly to his task, or demonstrated so vividly the virtues of common sense, courage, and human sympathy in the White House?

The historical value of the "Year of Decisions" from the point of view of the professional historian rests in the light it throws on the diplomatic history of Truman's first year. It does not alter the interpretation of the period in any drastic fashion, but it gives new emphases and insights. Of great importance is the story of Churchill's repeated efforts to persuade the President not to order the withdrawal of American troops into the zones of occupation in Germany until the Russians had given greater evidence of good faith. Of high significance is the determination of the Chief Executive to see to it that the United States got a free hand in the occupation of Japan, a determination fortified by the conduct of the Russians at Potsdam. The story of the Potsdam meeting is told in great detail, and there are many interesting sidelights on the personalities involved. The ex-President confirms the view that Molotov worked constantly for a policy harsher than that of Stalin and frequently concealed essential facts from the dictator. But it shows, too, that Stalin himself was brutal and arrogant on occasion, and that he intended to use his position to the uttermost. There is something a little pathetic in the insistence of Churchill and Truman on free elections in Poland and on the postponement of the issue of the Polish western frontier in the face of the strong military position of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe. The whole story of the meeting at Potsdam underlines the fact that settlements at the end of a war are likely to reflect the military situation rather than any abstract principle.

Did Truman come away from Potsdam clear in his own mind as to the danger from the Soviet Union? He certainly spoke up to Stalin. But he did little to arrest the drive toward demobilization in 1945, and it seems probable that in this respect his narrative takes on part of its color from after events. The record of his administration is an honorable one, but, as was to be expected, we get little idea of presidential error from Truman's own account of his first months in the White House. He does say that he signed the order revoking lend-lease without reading it, but in general he is not given to admitting mistakes. He writes with pride of his achievement, and with confidence that history will vindicate his decisions. It may well be that he is right.

Cornell University

DEXTER PERKINS

FOUNDATIONS OF CANADIAN NATIONHOOD. By *Chester Martin*, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Toronto. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955. Pp. xx, 554. \$7.50.)

CANADA as a country has received increasing attention as it has grown in world stature and importance; its history has been in recent years the subject of a number of scholarly studies and of some popular accounts. Professor Martin's book falls

into the first category, yet at the same time will occupy a position of its own in Canadian historical literature. The author himself sees it neither as a history nor as an interpretation but as an attempt "to trace the foundations, the containing-walls, upon which the structure of Canadian nationhood now squarely rests." He regards the development of a Canadian nation as the deliberate work of "builders inspired by a common cause," who maintained unbroken political traditions which are now the oldest in the American hemisphere. This theme he follows through the struggle for survival and self-government, for union, for expansion from sea to sea, and for international recognition. The main body of the book, after an analytical introductory chapter, deals with the period before 1900. Since, as the author states in his foreword, the last sections were to have been written by the late J. W. Dafoe, he does little more than sketch in the main outlines of Canada's progress in the twentieth century, raising in conclusion some questions on Canada's place in the modern world.

It is in its synthesis of the ideas and interpretations presented in Professor Martin's earlier books and articles, as well as for his later conclusions, that the book has a special value. The author is himself in a sense a maker of modern Canada. He has served as a consultant to government commissions; as head for many years of the departments of history, first of the University of Manitoba, then, until recently, of the University of Toronto, he has trained many of this generation of Canadian historians. If his views are occasionally controversial, as for example his interpretation of the intent of the Quebec Act, he performs a useful service by re-emphasizing the need of considering at each stage of Canada's development her position in relation to the United States and Great Britain, and of giving proper attention to the role of the Maritimes, the West, and the government's land policy. This study makes available generally the considered conclusions on important phases of her history of one of Canada's senior historians.

University of Maine

ALICE R. STEWART

LA DIPUTACION PROVINCIAL Y EL FEDERALISMO MEXICANO. By Nettie Lee Benson. (Mexico, D. F.: El Colegio de Mexico; distrib. by Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas. 1955. Pp. 236.)

THIS study of the origins of state government in Mexico traces the idea back to Spain. When Napoleon overthrew Charles IV the Spanish people spontaneously established regional juntas to take charge of local government in resistance to the invader. On the overthrow of French control, these juntas led the way to establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Naturally the new government retained a healthy respect for the local units that had rendered such significant service in the crisis.

As early as October, 1811, that redoubtable Mexican José Miguel Ramos Arispe asked the Spanish Cortes to apply the idea of local administration in the

New World. Specifically, he asked authorization for a provincial deputation of seven members to be located in Saltillo for the four *provincias internas* of New Spain (Mexico). The Cortes approved and extended the idea to form seven provincial deputations to take charge of affairs throughout Mexico and Guatemala. Each of these was to be responsible directly to Spain and had jurisdiction over local matters varying from police powers and the establishment of towns to the distribution of public lands. From this background the author traces the evolution of the various deputations through the vicissitudes of Mexican politics until 1824. By this date they had become nineteen state congresses under the constitution of the new nation.

That there was a widespread desire for local government in all sections of Mexico will come as a surprise to most readers. The cynic reviewer may suspect that this was inspired more by personal ambitions than the author implies but even the fact that ambitions took this direction in expressing themselves is significant.

Strangely enough, though the work is written in Spanish it has the "feel" of English rather than of Spanish writing. Devoted to her study of an institution, the author fails to reflect the Spanish love of personalities. The picturesque characters of the worldly-wise Ramos Arispe, of that superlative adventurer Santa Anna, and of the scholarly physician Gómez Farías do not materialize. The significance of the clergy, the army, and the landlords as associated groups is only implied. A great profusion of names of deputies is invaluable for future researchers but there is little or no indication of the social origins and economic backgrounds that would have been most revealing.

The volume carries the marks of good scholarship. Footnotes, bibliography, an ample index, and other scholarly aids are provided. At intervals the author summarizes her work in convenient tables, which are of great help to the reader. Scholars will hope that Miss Benson will continue her study of the evolution of state government in the sister republic through the agencies that have emerged since 1825.

University of South Carolina

W. H. CALLCOTT

Works by *José Toribio Medina*. (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina.) ENSAYO BIO-BIBLIOGRÁFICO SOBRE HERNÁN CORTÉS. Obra Póstuma. Introduction by *Guillermo Feliú Cruz*. (1952. Pp. cviii, 243.) LOS ABORÍGENES DE CHILE. Introduction by *Carlos Keller R.* (1952. Pp. lxxvi, 431, plates.) HISTORIA DEL TRIBUNAL DEL SANTO OFICIO DE LA INQUISICIÓN EN CHILE. Preface by *Aniceto Almeyda*. (1952. Pp. xxvi, 675.) COSAS DE LA COLONIA: APUNTES PARA LA CRÓNICA DEL SIGLO XVIII EN CHILE. Intro-

duction by *Eugenio Pereira Salas*. (1952. Pp. xxiv, 500.) *CARTAS DE PEDRO DE VALDIVIA QUE TRATAN DEL DESCUBRIMIENTO Y CONQUISTA DE CHILE*. Edición facsimilar dispuesta y anotada. Introduction by *Jaime Eyzaguirre*. (1953. Pp. xxxiv, 337.)

IN 1952, the centennial year of the birth of the eminent Chilean historian-bibliographer José Toribio Medina, the Chilean congress established by law the Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina with the intention of reissuing the works of that honored scholar, along with related studies by other authors.

In chronological order *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre Hernán Cortés*, published posthumously, lists the various editions and translations of the letters and miscellaneous writings of Cortés, biographies of the conqueror and general histories which dwell upon his career. For the years 1522-1930 it tries, with moderate success, to be definitive. The lengthy introduction by Feliú Cruz is a labor of love and erudition.

Appearing initially in 1882, *Los Aborígenes de Chile* constitutes a major proof of Medina's interest in the Indian side of Chilean life. Especially strong on the socio-economic activities of the Araucanians, this study is drawn from a wide variety of printed sources. The text is supported and enriched by 231 illustrations. The provocative essay by sociologist Carlos Keller R. is an excellent introduction to this reissue of a seventy-year-old study.

Just one of the six studies of the Inquisition by Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Chile* stands as the basic work in its segment of the religio-cultural history of Chile. Drawn from original manuscript sources in Simancas, it presents in rich narrative style, replete with quotations, the cases and problems with which the Inquisition concerned itself. The two-volume work of 1890 is presented herewith in a single volume, with a brief historiographical introductory note and an index of persons.

A by-product of Medina's job of indexing a segment of the archives of the government of Chile, *Cosas de la Colonia: Apuntes para la crónica del siglo XVIII en Chile* represents, in encyclopedic fashion, a jotting down of significant items he hoped to weave into his projected general history of Chile. Society, economics, politics, religion—these and more crop out repeatedly among the 686 items. A full table of contents atones for the absence of an index. Initially a two-volume work (1889, 1910), this mine of miscellany on colonial Chile reappears in a single volume.

The core of *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia que tratan del descubrimiento y conquista de Chile* consists of eleven letters written by the conqueror of Chile between 1545 and 1552, two destined for Peru and the others addressed to persons in Spain. For each letter a photographic copy of the original parallels the modern printed text. One of Medina's last works—it appeared in 1929—this second edition

is enriched by the bibliographical notes of Victor M. Chiappa and Rafael Mery Berisso, for which, along with the letters, indexes are provided.

In such fashion, with five works on colonial history—four on Chile and one on Mexico—Chilean determination to honor one of that country's greatest intellectuals bears fruit.

Washington University

C. HARVEY GARDINER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

MODERN HISTORIANS AND THE STUDY OF HISTORY: ESSAYS AND PAPERS. By *F. M. Powicke*. (London, Odhams Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 256, \$2.60.) "The memoirs, lectures and papers collected in this volume reflect some of the influences which have given life and direction to historical activities, particularly in England, during the last sixty or seventy years." Given so modest a label for what follows, the reviewer has no need to specify uncrossed *z*'s and undotted *i*'s; each of the nineteen papers has appeared in print and is here reproduced without significant change. The book then is a historical document. Had the author recast these essays and incorporated the content of his other relevant papers, he could have written a fascinating survey of historical ideas during the first half of the century, but it would have been wise after the fact. As it is we may now appreciate how a thoughtful, sensitive historian gauged his contemporaries and their interests. The essays vary in length from two paragraphs to seventy-seven pages, and, whatever the length, each tells us something about the subject and something about the author. Here the reader will discover no systems, no bulls either papal or Irish. Rather he will find humility and insight, and now and again a vivid image. Powicke puts aside things that no longer matter to limn the men who conveyed to their students the excitement of going where no one else had gone and seeing what no one else had seen. He has made us contemporary with Pirenne and Vinogradoff, for whom "knowledge was a force in life, and a trust never to be depreciated"; with Tout, sharp in tongue, great if untidy in learning, and extraordinarily kind; with Coulton, "at home with the best things, never petty, never bored, and a great gentleman"; and with our own massive Haskins, who "did more than anyone in recent years to give a much-needed sense of the value of discipline and direction to the study of history in America." These historians and their fellows maintained a spacious tradition, the tradition that history must represent not a "pedantic chase after the insignificant" but what men have done and said and thought. In that tradition, which rated the historian at least as important as his sources, Sir Maurice Powicke has a high place.

CHARLES F. MULLETT, *University of Missouri*

HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY. Delivered on 12 May 1953 at the London School of Economics and Political Science. By *Isaiah Berlin*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Auguste Comte Memorial Trust Lecture, No. 1.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 79, \$2.00.) In this compact but wide-ranging book, Mr. Berlin speaks as historian, as philosopher, and as moralist. His basic thesis is that "Two powerful doctrines are at large in contemporary thought, relativism and determinism," and that "neither view seems to be supported by human experience" (p. 68). As historian, Mr. Berlin gives us a masterly portrait of the development of relativism and determinism from the late eighteenth century through the nineteenth, classifying and aptly describing the movements that played the dominant roles in this development. As philosopher, Mr. Berlin deals with a wide variety of problems. His treatments of them are in all cases interesting, but the brevity of the book has necessarily led to truncated discussions. Among the problems discussed are some which will be of particular interest to historians: (1) his view that historical explanations are like explanations used in ordinary life and cannot be assimilated to the type of explanation which

it is the ideal of science to offer (e.g., pp. 5, 19, 51-56); (2) his view that historical explanations are in part relative to our interests, but are not wholly so, since there are standards within the community of historians by means of which "objective" accounts can be distinguished from "biased," "subjective" ones (e.g., pp. 57-65); (3) his defense of moral judgments in history (e.g., pp. 28-30, 46-48, 56-58); and (4) his opposition to those who regard social institutions, or large-scale patterns of social organization, as "real," a position which he considers "animistic" and contrary to a belief in individual responsibility (e.g., pp. 72-73). Mr. Berlin's defense of individual responsibility in history is the crucial philosophic theme in his book. Here he speaks as moralist as well as philosopher and historian, and few would probably challenge his view that the doctrine of historical determinism has of late been "one of the great *alibis*, pleaded by those who cannot and do not wish to face the facts of human responsibility" (p. 78). Nevertheless, his defense of individual responsibility suffers from frequent confusions between the problem of moral responsibility and the problem of the extent to which individual choices do in fact affect history. Let us grant, with Mr. Berlin, that history is not determined by any necessary law of development; yet a question remains as to just how far, and in what directions, the acts of any particular individual do alter the course of events. Mr. Berlin too readily assumes that an answer to this problem will have been reached if one can show that men have freedom of choice. But this is by no means the case. Freedom of action is not the same as freedom of choice: the consequences of a choice are not affected by whether that choice was determined or free, but are—in overwhelming measure—related to circumstances independent of the act of choosing. The question of the individual's responsibility in history (taking responsibility in its causal, not its moral, sense) is therefore not adequately solved by affirming freedom of choice. It is this reviewer's hope that the author will again discuss the problem of the individual's freedom in history, for whatever is written by Mr. Berlin is both erudite and stimulating.

MAURICE MANDELBAUM, *Dartmouth College*

AFRICAN GLORY: THE STORY OF VANISHED NEGRO CIVILIZATIONS. By J. C. deGraft-Johnson. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1955, pp. xi, 209, \$4.00.) This publication deals with the history of selected areas of the African continent, beginning with the Egyptian Dynasties, following through Carthage, the Roman period in North Africa, and the rise and spread of the Moslem faith. The scene changes to south of the Sahara, to the empires of Mali, Songhai, and Ghana, to the period of Portuguese exploration in West and East Africa, the slave trade, and covers facets of the historical and political situation in the Gold Coast, the home of the author. There is very little to be found in this work that can be considered an original contribution to knowledge. The sphere of Negro Africa is expanded to include Egypt and other sections of North Africa, but it is in his attempt to establish a connection between the Akan of the Gold Coast and the Ghana kingdom that deGraft-Johnson does violence to the evidence. Apparently ignoring archaeological data on the area, he quotes highly dubious sources dealing with the eleventh century as though they were factual. That the Sudanese kingdom of Ghana, the presumed origin of the Akan, was populated by Mandingoes poses no problem at all. The ancestors of the Akan are injected by means of the hypothesis that they must have lived near Lake Chad, "one of the outposts of the Ghana Empire." They traveled west to aid Ghana against the Almoravid attack, could not retreat, moved further westward, then southeast into the Gold Coast. Moreover, some of the Akan who remained behind were driven out by the Almoravids, and we are told to look for their descendants in the Eastern Belgian Congo, a migration supported by extremely doubtful linguistic and ethnological

evidence. The treatment of the period following European contact with West Africa is more scholarly, and a phase of history where the author could make a significant contribution. The portion of the work dealing with this period, however, is all too brief. If the purpose of the author is to trace the West African's cultural genealogy back to the glory of Roman Africa and Egypt, he will need more valid documentation than that offered in this work.

JAMES B. CHRISTENSEN, *Wayne University*

PURITANISM IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND. By *Alan Simpson*. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. ix, 126, \$3.00.) Six lectures given at the University of Chicago in the spring of 1954 make up this book. Notes, with references, and an index have been added. Exceptionally lucid, gracefully written with occasional flashes of wit, the book is based upon the best of recent studies in Puritanism with significant references to original sources. The first chapter, entitled "The Puritan Thrust," sets forth a definition of Puritanism in which the author adopts a broad treatment, including the Quakers, and bases his definition upon "an experience of conversion which separates the Puritan from the mass of mankind and endows him with the privileges and the duties of the elect" (p. 2). The "Thrust" is the Puritan impulse to establish a holy community—although the social purposes of such communities (as separate from private soul-salvation) appear to be neglected. Chapter II treats of "The Covenanted Community," i.e., New England excepting Rhode Island, which is the principal burden of chapter III, "Salvation through Separation." Chapter IV, "Saints in Arms," deals with the Puritans during the English Civil Wars; chapter V, "The Bankrupt Crusade," with the Commonwealth and Protectorate; and chapter VI, "The Puritan Tradition," seeks to discover the continuing influences of Puritanism in terms of "attempts to solve problems in a Puritan spirit" (p. 100). Though he recognizes that "No doubt there is a sense in which Puritanism can be found in the Middle Ages or in civilizations other than our own," Professor Simpson chooses to treat his subject as a unique historic experience. It is, of course, an author's privilege to define his course of treatment, yet Professor Simpson, by attending to Puritanism's continuing influences without consideration of earlier historic experiences to which Puritanism was itself in some measure a continuation, tends to accord to Puritanism qualities which would not appear unique at all if the subject were treated against its full historic background. This is a shortcoming doubtless attributable to the limitations of the original lectures. It is probably true, from the vantage point of 1954, to charge the Puritan character with a want of proportion (p. 5) because of an overpowering concern for soul-salvation, yet this same want of proportion is evident among many of the early Christian sects, among various groups in the Middle Ages, and during that great crisis in men's consciences known as the Age of Reformation. Again, as suggested above, the author seems unduly to minimize—if not to ignore—the social mission of the Puritans (in common with countless other Christian movements) to reform the English church, state, and society so that England would lead in the reformation of Christian society throughout the world. Here and there certain details may be questioned. The oft-alleged "theocracy" of Massachusetts Bay (p. 37) is a tricky matter, depending upon definition of terms, level of government, and time sequence. If the educational motives of the founders of Harvard College aimed at producing "saints with a saving knowledge" (p. 29) instead of "Christian gentlemen with a liberal education" (as Morison has held), were the two antithetical, especially in the framework of Renaissance society? And if politics is the art of reconciliation (p. 114), are there no moral principles upon which this art is to be practiced—referring to the Puritan tendency "to make the Puritan's own moral character a test of political fitness [as] . . . the darkest blot

on his political record"? If moral principles *do* sneak into the practice of the art of politics, is any generation of men likely to employ the moral principles of someone else? The reviewer will, in any case, urge his students to read this excellent book.

RAYMOND P. STEARNS, *University of Illinois*

ACADIAN ODYSSEY. By *Oscar William Winzerling*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 224, \$4.85.) One of the great tragedies of modern history was the mass deportation of thousands of Acadians from their homeland in 1755 by a British government convinced that they were a potential menace in the renewed colonial wars against France. Some of these unfortunates were strewn along the Atlantic Coast in hostile English colonies; some were routed to England; and some found their way to French tropical islands, where they were to die like exotic northern transplants under the searing sun. Most fortunate of all were those who found their final destiny in Louisiana. The earliest to arrive in that colony were intrepid souls who escaped the British and pushed westward to the settlement along the Mississippi. *Acadian Odyssey* is not their story but that of their compatriots whose fate took them first to England, where the British settled them in ghetto-like confines in Liverpool, Southampton, Falmouth, and Bristol. From there they were rescued by the French ambassador, the duke of Nivernois, who arranged in 1763 for their removal to France, where a supposedly grateful Louis XV had promised them prosperous futures as French farmers. These promises were never kept, and after twenty years in France the Acadians still found themselves poor and landless. At this point Spain, anxious to populate her Louisiana settlement to ward off the menacing Americans, arranged the shipment of some 1,600 Acadians to New Orleans, whence they were settled on acres of their own choosing throughout the Spanish colony. In a work of such few pages, Father Winzerling has presented a remarkably full account of this neglected aspect of Acadian history, a worthy testimonial to these people on the 200th anniversary of their exile. Regrettably, there is not space enough to give much life to the bare bones of official reports and correspondence upon which the narrative rests.

JOSEPH G. TREGLE, JR., *Loyola University, New Orleans*

A HISTORY OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By *Dexter Perkins*. (New ed.; Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, pp. xiv, 462, \$5.00.) It was fifteen years ago that Professor Perkins published his masterly abridgment of his three well-known monographs on the Monroe Doctrine under the title *Hands Off*. It is a happy event to have this popular book brought up to date with the new title (formerly subtitle), *A History of the Monroe Doctrine*. Its author has not attempted a complete revision of the earlier text but has inserted an additional chapter, "The Doctrine Broadened," which covers the years from 1937 through 1954, and has partially rewritten his former concluding chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect." The relative brevity of the treatment of the 1940's and early 1950's makes for a somewhat rapid survey of these important years, but Professor Perkins is of course here writing for the student and the general reader rather than the specialist. And his interpretation of recent events, as might be expected, is highly interesting. In his earlier volume, compiled before the critical developments of 1941 but at a time when there appeared to be a definite threat of the spread of totalitarian influence in Latin America, Professor Perkins asked himself whether the American people were prepared to go to war "for the principles of 1823." He was then unwilling to commit himself any further than to state that in the face of an immediate threat, it was "likely" that they "would go far" in defense of these principles. Writing today in the light of a new world situation and also of those fundamental changes that have taken place in transforming the Monroe Doctrine into

a multilateral rather than unilateral undertaking, he is more explicit. In the event of actual danger from the Old World, he declares, the American people "would doubtless rally, as they have rallied in the past, to the dogma of Monroe. They would, nevertheless, wisely assume that action, if possible, should be a matter of common consultation and agreement rather than of the United States alone." Reviewing the original volume in the *American Historical Review* (January, 1942, pp. 389-90), Samuel Flagg Bemis said that "no more adequate single volume on the subject is likely to be written for a long time." Now that Professor Perkins has brought his study up to date, this verdict—in the opinion of the present reviewer—still stands.

FOSTER RHEA DULLES, *Ohio State University*

DOCUMENTS ON INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION. Volume I, 1810-1881; Volume II, 1881-1948. By *Robert N. Burr*, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles, and *Roland D. Hussey*, Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. [University of Pennsylvania, Department of History, Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, Fourth Series.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 182; xii, 214, \$3.00 ea.) Professors Burr and Hussey have, in these two volumes, "presented documents which reflect the ideas and opinions of men of the Western Hemisphere, about an organized system of inter-American cooperation" (I, II, v). Their basic purpose was and is undoubtedly to make their selections, which are in the nature of extracts from official public documents and periodical articles, more available to the teacher and his student. The selections number 116 and include 68 freshly translated from the Spanish with the assistance of Elizabeth E. Burr. Chief among the motives promoting an "organized system" was common defense of the hemisphere and such desirables as the internal improvement of all countries, settlement of boundary disputes, and with the adoption of such principles of American international law as are now incorporated in the charter of the Organization of American States. The work differs from James W. Gantenbein's, *The Evolution of Our Latin-American Policy: A Documentary Record* (1950) mainly by the inclusion of the views of such Spanish-Americans as Pedro Gual, Domingo F. Sarmiento, Andrés Bello, Juan B. Alberdi, José G. Paz Soldán, Manuel Ancízar, Francisco Bilbao, Matías Romero, Manuel Montt, José Martí, Roque Sáenz Peña, Francisco Bulnes, Manuel Ugarte, Baltasar Brum, Alejandro Álvarez, Daniel Antokoletz, Jesús María Yepes, Alfonso López, Ezequiel Padilla, and Alberto Lleras Camargo. Brazilian opinion is represented solely by an extract from an article by Oswaldo Aranha. For those not familiar with these names this work will add considerably to an understanding of how foreigners view the United States. The chief merit and originality of the work lies (1) in presenting the pre-1890 efforts of the Spanish Americans to construct some type of organization, and (2) in balancing the 1890-1948 documents relating to the Pan-American conferences with the opinions of many Latin Americans. Keeping in mind their purpose, the editors have selected and abstracted well, although doubtless many will feel that a particular advocate of Pan Americanism has been slighted; nor will historians of the history of the United States find any—with the single exception of Senator Hugh Butler's "Our Deep Dark Secrets in Latin America"—expression of private United States views respecting inter-American political organizations. Latin Americans will note that the collaborators have not included the more violent attacks on the United States, yet the taste of anti-imperialism is plainly evident. As the selections deal with political organization, the many facets of inter-American economic, intellectual, and technological co-operation are not represented. The forty-four-page introduction constitutes a clear and succinct account, with no pretense of originality or bias, of the

efforts to form a political union for the Americas from 1826 to 1948. This synthesis should become standard reading for the uninitiated. A fine index and useful bibliography are included in each volume. In sum, these small (alas!) books are a welcome and needed addition to the slowly growing number of English-language documentary collections pertaining to Latin America.

HAROLD A. BIERCK, *University of North Carolina*

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Edited by *Pierre Renouvin*. Volume III, LES TEMPS MODERNES. Part 2, DE LOUIS XIV A 1789. By *Gaston Zeller*. (Paris, Hachette, 1955, pp. 375, 1,000 fr.) In this volume, following a short description of the personality, ability, and alleged aims of Louis XIV, M. Zeller devotes about equal space to the periods 1660-1715 and 1715-1789 respectively. Although the bulk of the work is devoted to discussions of European events and states, and justifiably so, the author covers the entire world. To this end the Chinese, Persians, and others come in for some brief attention. There is a chapter on the history of ideas from 1688 to 1789, which asserts that the English were the major contributors during this period. A concluding chapter discusses briefly some features of the post-1789 world. This volume performs two very useful services. First, it offers to the general student an excellent introduction to some aspects of international relations. M. Zeller goes into a fair amount of detail and at the end of each section lists specialized works which the interested reader may consult. Second, M. Zeller emphasizes that while Europe may have been the most important area during the period under discussion there were events of significance taking place elsewhere in the world. In his introduction M. Zeller states that diplomatic history in the strict sense of the word constitutes only one aspect of the "general history of international relations" as the present series of volumes uses the term. In the bibliographical note he says that Louis André in his *Louis XIV et l'Europe* gives over an important segment to strictly diplomatic history. The reader may be permitted to conclude from these statements that M. Zeller's work will be considerably broader in scope than the foregoing. If this conclusion is justified, the reader will look in vain for the fulfillment of the promise. There is, as already mentioned, one chapter (19 pages out of a total of 352) on the history of ideas, in which there is an attempt made to show that ideas in the eighteenth century spread from one country to another. Commercial relations are discussed briefly from time to time and nearly always in connection with or subordinate to military and diplomatic events. Otherwise, the emphasis remains on war, diplomacy, and treaties. M. Zeller does not claim to have added anything significantly new to the store of knowledge, since it would be impossible to do so in such a small space and still retain any meaning at all. There is no question, however, that this volume forms a most useful addition to historical literature.

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

MANPOWER SHORTAGE AND THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST. By Arthur E. R. Boak. [The Jerome Lectures, Third Series.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955, pp. vii, 169, \$4.50.) Professor Boak has made inquiry into the problem of population an occasion for a compact, well-documented, and illuminating analysis of the decline of the empire. He examines the evidence for the shortage of manpower in agriculture, in the cities, and in government services both to confirm general considerations that have made depopulation seem probable and to indicate the bearing of this upon economic and political weakness and upon the imperial policies of settlement and recruitment of barbarians and of compulsory and hereditary status for essential occupations and offices. The basic shortage was in agriculture, with the result (in the absence of progressive methods) of the abandonment of land, the diminution of production and the lack of resources in goods and men to maintain the commerce, industry, and population of the cities. A monographic series of lectures necessarily singles out for attention a special aspect of Roman society, and the author warns against simple causal explanation for a complex process. He introduces as related, though originally independent, factors the recurrent disorders after A.D. 235 and the increasing tax burden. Taxes, he holds, were before A.D. 235 oppressive upon a rural population that, in his view, was already stagnant or declining in numbers. For this early and persisting agrarian weakness, Boak offers one specific cause, the plague after A.D. 165 with its probable delayed effects (repeated by the plague of the late third century), and one general cause, the short length of life of Romans, like that of the Chinese and of medieval Englishmen but in contrast with that of modern Americans and Europeans. The comparative longevity figures do not, however, in themselves justify the conclusion that the population of the empire was diminishing or even stationary during the second century. For this, the low birth rate of slaves is invoked. The evidence is mixed and, to this reviewer, persuasive but not conclusive. Greater assurance can hardly be expected in so speculative a field as ancient demography. Inference plays a constant and important part in all descriptions and explanations of the fall of the Roman Empire, and Boak's overt reliance on necessary implication ("must have been") and on plausible appearance keeps the reader aware of the tentativeness of historical judgments. This study is an

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

instructive demonstration of the central role of interpretative analysis and synthesis in history and of the difficulties and satisfactions of such historical inquiry. The hypotheses put forward should encourage further exploration of population trends in the empire.

R. F. ARRAGON, *Reed College*

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Medieval History

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THE WITENAGEMOT IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR: A STUDY IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ELEVENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By Tryggvi J. Oleson. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press in co-operation with University of Manitoba, 1955, pp. x, 187, \$5.00.) This work investigates the composition, function, and constitutional role of the witenagemot under Edward the Confessor. No monograph devoted to this subject has appeared since Liebermann's study, published in 1913, on the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. The main value of this contribution is its exhaustive analysis of the evidence. Older notions (some of which survive with surprising tenacity, as the author points out) are laid to rest. The witenagemot was not a corporate body, and the term had no technical meaning. The witan were counsellors who, at any given moment, were with the king whether in the daily course of routine business, or on festive occasions, or when summoned for a special purpose. None of the witan had a constitutional right to be royal counsellors, either as representatives of the nation or in their capacity as "men of substance" holding the highest ecclesiastical and civil offices. Witan of lesser rank were almost invariably officials of the local government from areas geographically close to a meeting of the witenagemot. Definitions of the witenagemot range all the way from the statement that "strictly there is no witenagemot, there are only witan" (p. 77), to the assertion that a witenagemot was "any occasion when 'the counsel, consent, witness or license of several aristocrats' was in any way offered to the king" (p. 33). But the essential point is sound and clear enough. The work concludes with some interesting appendixes, the data of which might have been even more usefully exploited in the text. For example, in the eighteen authentic royal charters of the reign the average number of bishops' attestations in the 1040's is 6.75 but in later charters only 2.67. Perhaps the small number of charters involved rules out any statistical significance, but these figures and averages are discussed (chapter 6) without any explanation of this rather interesting decline (presumably) in the bishops' attendance. The problem is all the more intriguing because, in the spurious royal charters, bishops' attestations average a little above or below seven during the 1040's, 1050's, and 1060's.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

THE METALOGICON OF JOHN OF SALISBURY: A TWELFTH-CENTURY DEFENSE OF THE VERBAL AND LOGICAL ARTS OF THE TRIVIUM. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by *Daniel D. McGarry*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, pp. xxvii, 305, \$5.00.) Thanks to the present literate and scholarly translation, a wider audience may now enjoy the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury. This work, dedicated by its author, in 1159, to Thomas à Becket, whom he was later to serve as secretary and counsellor, contains the defense of the study of grammar in the broad sense, including written and oral expression and language and literature; and of logic, not only as "the science of argumentative reasoning" but also as method and exercise in the quest for wisdom and truth. However, it is not alone for the able defense of these subjects that the *Metalogicon* is such a delight to us. Its treasure consists also in the many glimpses it affords us of John of Salisbury's own views: his contempt for those for whom "Wisdom's only fruit . . . is wealth" (p. 20); his tolerance: "Nothing is more despicable than to attack the character of the proponent of a doctrine simply because his views are not to our liking" (p. 12); and his willingness to acknowledge his debt to those who have gone before him. "We frequently know more . . . because we . . . possess riches that we have inherited from our forefathers," he asserts, and he quotes from Bernard of Chartres the famous passage comparing "us to [puny] dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants" who "see more and farther than our predecessors, not because we have keener vision or greater height, but because we are lifted up and borne aloft on their gigantic stature" (p. 167). Dr. McGarry has performed a great service in thus translating, for the first time in its entirety, one of the most enjoyable and important sources of information for the intellectual life of the second quarter of the twelfth century, particularly in Paris and Chartres.

PEARL KIBRE, *Hunter College*

DIE NORMANNEN IN THESSALONIKE. Edited by *Herbert Hunger*. [Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Band III.] (Graz, Styria, 1955, pp. 163, Sch. 36.60.)

BYZANTINISCHE DIPLOMATEN UND ÖSTLICHE BARBAREN: AUS DEN EXCERPTA DE LEGATIONIBUS DES KONSTANTINOS PORPHYROGENETOS AUSGEWÄHLTE ABSCHNITTE DES PRISKOS UND MENANDER PROTEKTOR. Edited by *Ernest Doblhofer*. [Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Band IV.] (Graz, Styria, 1955, pp. 224, Sch. 38.40.) "Styria," a series of German translations from Byzantine historians launched in 1954 by Professor Endre van Ivánka (cf. *AHR*, LX [1955], 594), is keeping its promise of presenting lively historical texts of literary value. The third volume, prepared by Herbert Hunger, contains the account of the Norman capture of Thessalonica (1185) written by Eustathius, the learned archbishop of that city from 1175 to 1194 (?). The text sheds light on the successful coup by Andronicus Comnenus in 1182/3, on the massacre of the Latin residents of Constantinople by Andronicus' Paphlagonian troops and on the siege and capture of Thessalonica by the armed forces of William II of Sicily in 1185. There exists no English translation of Eustathius' work, and Tafel's German version (1870) is now difficult to obtain. Dr. Hunger's notes help to explain the historical and classical allusions. One would have wished, however, for a sketch map of medieval Thessalonica. The fourth volume of the series, edited by Ernst Doblhofer, illustrates the diplomatic relations of Byzantium with Eastern barbarians in the fifth and sixth centuries. Here will be found most of the fragments preserved from Priscus' *Gothic History* and all that survives of Menander's work. Major parts of Priscus have been translated repeatedly into various modern languages, but of Menander Protector little is available except in Greek and Latin. The passages from Priscus deal

primarily with diplomatic relations between Byzantium and the Huns from 434 to 470. They contain the famous account of Priscus' embassy to Attila. Menander's *History* has long been recognized as a mine of information for Byzantine diplomacy. Thanks to his high position at the court, the author was able to insert or paraphrase some of the most important treaties from 559 to 580 and to present a detailed picture even of secret negotiations with Persians, Avars, Bulgars, and Turks. Like its predecessors, the volume is provided with introductory materials and explanatory notes. The two maps are helpful but several features repeatedly mentioned in the text are not recorded on them, for instance the region of Suania. The translations are readable and competent.

PAUL J. ALEXANDER, *Brandeis University*

URBAIN V (1362-1370): LETTRES COMMUNES, ANALYSÉES D'APRÈS LES REGISTRES DITS D'AVIGNON ET DU VATICAN. Par les membres de l'Ecole française de Rome et M.-H. Laurent. Tome I (Premier fascicule). [Lettres communes des papes du XIV^e siècle. Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3e série, V bis.] (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1954, pp. 112.) The Ecole française de Rome has begun another important contribution to its long and valuable series of Calendars of Papal Registers in the publication of the *Lettres communes* of Urban V, the present volume covering the year 1362-1363. The introduction and tables relating to these letters are to form part of the second fascicule, still in preparation, hence a note on Fascicule I must confine itself to external observations. The 1565 letters deal with three main subjects: (1) *De absolutione plenaria in articulo mortis*, (2) *De altari portatili* . . . (3) *De beneficiis sub expectatione*. Provisions to benefices are further classified under the heads *In forma communis* and *De beneficiis religiosorum*. A single last entry begins the category *De beneficiis vacantibus*. Even a cursory perusal of these calendars reveals their rich content not only for ecclesiastical and legal history but for social history as well. Recipients of letters of plenary absolution include clergy and laity of both sexes, drawn from every level of society. Well-known names occur—Albizzi of Florence, Malatesta of Rimini, Falstolfs of Norwich, Eizinger of Passau and Isenburg of Mainz. Other names invite speculation—Walsingham, Pekok, not to mention Thomas More of Exeter and "Talayrando" of Perigueux. The plague-ridden mid-century is reflected in letters addressed to whole communities in the grip of a deadly epidemic—Arezzo, Florence, Siena, Rome, Orleans. Permissions for portable altars take into account places under interdict; in one such instance the celebration of mass in a private household must take place behind closed doors, in a low voice and without bell. The geographical distribution of these two groups of letters, while wide, is very uneven. One wonders why, for instance, English entries outnumber all others, and why the dioceses of Lincoln, London, York, Norwich, and Lichfield figure so prominently. Benefices *sub expectatione* occupy more than half the volume and provide much illuminating material on the subject of papal provisions in the fourteenth century. Here again one is impressed with the prominence of certain dioceses, notably Lincoln, York, Worcester, Paris, Tournai, and Cambrai, in an otherwise geographically inclusive list; with the conspicuous presence of university students among the recipients of papal provisions; with the important role of cardinals in the granting of provisions. This first fascicule amply justifies the hope of the editors to offer to scholars unexplored resources for a truer understanding of the later Middle Ages. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this undertaking for medieval studies.

LEONA C. GABEL, *Smith College*

RECORDS OF SOME SESSIONS OF THE PEACE IN LINCOLNSHIRE, 1381-1396.
Volume I, THE PARTS OF KESTEVEN AND THE PARTS OF HOLLAND.

Edited by *Elisabeth G. Kimball*. [The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, Volume XLIX.] (Lincoln, Eng., the Society, 1955, pp. lxvi, 110, 30s.) The Lincoln Record Society, in publishing the Kesteven and Holland peace rolls, is continuing the important work it began several years ago with the publication of a volume of similar records for the reign of Edward III. Under the editorship of Professor Kimball, this volume makes a significant contribution toward an understanding of the history of Lincolnshire. The introduction presents a careful analysis of the economic, religious, and social implications of the presentments made before the justices of the peace. The peace rolls record the hearing of indictments of felons and trespassers and, therefore, give pertinent information concerning the types of offenses committed during a period of economic unrest. MARVIN B. BECKER, *Baldwin-Wallace College*

THE CONGRESS OF ARRAS, 1435: A STUDY IN MEDIEVAL DIPLOMACY. By *Joycelyne Gledhill Dickinson*, Librarian of St. Hugh's College, Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xxii, 266, \$6.75.) The Congress of Arras began its work on August 20, upon the arrival of the Lancastrian embassy. Though the military situation was not unfavorable, the English had small hope of peace on their own terms; Charles VII was most unlikely to surrender his title of king of France. After two weeks of fruitless negotiations they withdrew from the Congress. A week later the duke of Bedford died in Rouen, and a few days after that Philip of Burgundy and Charles of Valois came to terms. It was the turning-point of the war. The volume before us is not a new history of the Congress but a new and needed chapter in the history of diplomacy. It is the author's doctoral thesis and was inspired by her experience in the work of UNESCO. The volume reads easily; the details of diplomatic procedure inform the reader without wearying him. Dr. Dickinson tells us that "the history of the later medieval papacy as a peace-maker in Europe has still to be written" (p. 78). Her volume makes an important contribution to it. One of the mediators at Arras represented Pope Eugenius IV; the other, the Council of Basel, which thus challenged the pope for the post of peacemaker of Europe. The church, generally, played a leading part in the diplomacy of those times. The Lancastrian embassy at Arras included a cardinal, an archbishop, and three bishops, besides earls, barons, and knights. The spokesman of each embassy was the senior cleric. Prayers were offered for the success of the Congress. The treaty between Philip and Charles was formally promulgated in the abbey church and the severest ecclesiastical penalties were imposed as sanctions. "Men did not rush into treaty-making, when later infringement might involve such far-reaching consequences," writes Dr. Dickinson, and she concludes that we with our "scraps of paper" may "rightly feel some inferiority to those who met at Arras" (p. 208).

WARREN O. AULT, *Boston University*

JOHN FREE: FROM BRISTOL TO ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *R. J. Mitchell*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1955, pp. xii, 157, \$4.50.) John Free came very early in the history of English humanism, and he was associated with two of its leading fifteenth-century patrons, Bishop Grey of Ely and John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. A study of Free's life and Italian experience might be expected, therefore, to cast light on an important and obscure subject. Unfortunately Miss Mitchell's book chiefly reveals how little is known of Free, although this has not prevented the author from expressing enthusiastic and largely unsupported judgments of his accomplishment. Born at Bristol about 1430, he spent a decade at Oxford, and in 1456 went to Italy. There he studied with Guarino at Padua, frequented the society of well-known humanists, and died at Rome in 1465. We have from his pen only a minor

translation and a few letters. The author has only a few details to add to this slender tale, although she presses the scanty evidence for every possible nuance of meaning and speculates at length about what Free "must" have thought and done. To make even a short book of so little, she has had to eke out her material in various ways, drawing extensively on her own earlier writings. She includes discussions of men Free knew or might have known, and lengthy descriptions of the English and Italian environments in which Free lived and worked. The detail is authentic and often of considerable interest, but it has little particular bearing on Free; and the book seems finally less an account of John Free than the leisurely narration of a typical or hypothetical life, roughly organized about Free's sketchy itinerary.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, *University of Illinois*

BÜRGERLICHES RECHTSLEBEN ZUR HANSEZEIT IN LÜBECKER RATSURTEILEN. By *Wilhelm Ebel*. [Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, Band IV.] (Göttingen, Musterschmidt, 1954, pp. 85, DM 6.60.) The legal records of Lübeck have yielded, since C. W. Pauli began his pioneering researches over a century ago, a rich harvest to the cultural historian. The present work, the fourth volume of an excellent new series, draws on the legal cases decided by the verdict (*keur*, *kour*) of the city council to present a vivid and intimate picture of life in Lübeck from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The first section deals with family and inheritance matters; the second, with building regulations and cases arising therefrom; and the third, with disputes in the spheres of handicraft and trade. The work, despite the general title of the series, is not a collection of source material. It is rather a learned and suggestive commentary written from a socio-legal point of view. The author's observations on *Stadtlust macht frei* (pp. 45 ff.), though sufficiently orthodox, excite the suspicion that neither Brunner in 1910 nor Planitz in 1944 has said the last word on the subject. It is conceivable that the city council was prepared to employ the maxim in defense of the status and property rights of established citizens but was reluctant to harbor unfree immigrants from the countryside who set up as handworkers outside the framework of the craft guild. Controversial topics such as this will doubtless receive appropriate treatment in the author's forthcoming edition of the judgments of the city council. Meanwhile, the present volume may be welcomed as an impressive performance in the distillation of social history from legal sources.

C. C. BAYLEY, *McGill University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

ELIZABETHAN COPPER: THE HISTORY OF THE COMPANY OF MINES ROYAL, 1568-1605. By M. B. Donald, Ramsay Memorial Professor of Chemical Engi-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

neering in the University of London. (London, Pergamon Press, 1955, pp. vii, 405, 60s.) This richly documented study of the Company of Mines Royal contributes much to the understanding of German influence on English mining and metallurgy in the sixteenth century. The episode is also interesting because the project was based upon a patent of monopoly resting on the allegation that these copper mines were mines royal. It was asserted that the gold and silver associated with the copper brought them within the rule of law that mines of the precious metals belonged to the crown. The patent was challenged by the earl of Northumberland, who owned the land on which the mines lay. Judgment was given in favor of the queen in 1568, but the decision itself was less important than the principles underlying the decision. It was held that mines of the base metals were not mines royal, if the value of the base metal exceeded the value of the gold and silver. In the case before the court, it was assumed by inference that the value of the gold and silver was greater than the value of the copper. This was an error in fact. The general principle, however, was accepted in practice and was formally recognized by the statute of 1689. The structure of the company was complex. The patent was held by Thomas Thurland and David Hochstetter, representing the English and German groups of shareholders. There are brief biographies of both the patentees and the shareholders. The administration of the company was scarcely distinguishable from that of a partnership. Interest is centered on the difficulties of securing effective co-operation between the English and the Germans. The technical contribution of the Germans was not appreciated. They found it difficult to secure the funds due them; and, at times, they were subject to personal violence. Two thirds of the volume is given to a description of the mines in the Lake Country and in Cornwall. Records afford substantial detail on the scale of operations. The techniques of smelting are described with great care from the English sources, studied in conjunction with relevant chapters in Agricola's *De re metallica*. The company came to an end through the death of the principals, notably the German metallurgists. No attempt had been made to train younger men for the work. It is an episode marked by promising beginnings, which had only restricted significance at the time.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, *Harvard University*

GEORGE SANDYS, POET-ADVENTURER: A STUDY IN ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Richard Beale Davis*. (London, Bodley Head; New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. 320, \$4.75.) Despite the paucity of personal records, this account of the varied career of George Sandys was well worth undertaking. Professor Davis has searched widely, has succeeded in discovering new information about the private life of Sandys, and has presented his literary and colonial career in clearer light. Although his account of Sandys's education is largely conjectural, it is now established that Sandys was married and that the union ended in separation and much litigation. The broken marriage is suggested as one of the motives for Sandys's long trip through the Levant and Mediterranean, of which he published a large account in 1615. There is an instructive treatment of Sandys's method in compiling this work; it was partly based on earlier writers and partly original. The indebtedness of other writers to Sandys (Browne, Bacon, Burton, Fuller, Jonson, and Milton) is also explained. The significance of the work, Professor Davis finds, lies in Sandys's successful combination of the travel diary with the formal treatise on remote lands, the product being further embellished with "a continuous flow of literary allusions." A stockholder in the Virginia Company almost from the first, Sandys took an active part in the affairs of the venture after his return from the Near East, and in 1621 was sent to the colony as treasurer. There is a full account of his career in Virginia, his surviving letters being reprinted from Miss

Kingsbury's *Records of the Virginia Company*. It is suggested that Sandys played an important role in a "liberal movement" within the colony and company, evidenced by his urging freedom of assembly in Virginia and maintenance of charter rights. This movement Professor Davis relates to the liberalism of Sir Edwin Sandys and others in parliament, although he is careful not to press his conclusions too far in the absence of further evidence. Sandys's most important work, the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, was partly composed in America. Here, in addition to much which will interest literary specialists (e.g., Sandys's contribution to the development of the heroic couplet), there is a valuable account of Sandys's commentaries and of his place in the history of the allegorical interpretation of Ovid. Much credit is due Professor Davis for his contribution to our knowledge of both the Renaissance literary scene and the early colonial movement.

P. H. HARDACRE, *Vanderbilt University*

CROMWELL'S GENERALS. By *Maurice Ashley*. (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1955, pp. 256, \$4.50.) This book is correctly defined by its author as "a study in the characters of Oliver Cromwell's Generals and their relations with each other and with the Lord Protector," and as "intended for the general reader." To accomplish his purpose Mr. Ashley has selected a number of episodes and linked each with a notable participant whose character and achievements are described. Thus the command of the army to invade Scotland in 1650, the ejection of the remnant of the Long Parliament in 1653, and the war at sea afford opportunities for accounts of Fairfax, Harrison, and Blake. Some of the chapters are of a more diversified nature, such as those on the major generals, on the attitude of officers to the offer of the crown to Cromwell, and on the fate of the leading officers after the Restoration. On the whole a clear picture is afforded of the men who served under Cromwell during the decade starting in 1650, but the author indulges in many a backward glance. Exact chronology is not Mr. Ashley's forte, though perhaps it matters little in a book of this kind if the formation of the New Model Army is assigned to 1644 or whether two different days of the month are given for Lambert's turning out of the Rump in 1659. The phrase "Lambert mustered enough troops to overwhelm the guard" for the Rump is inapt as the guard withdrew on orders from the council of state. Why are Lord Broghil and General Montagu described (p. 242) as "in the long run, far more the architects of the Restoration of 1660" than Monck? Broghil was less influential in Ireland than Sir Charles Coote, and judging from his letters slower to make up his mind about a restoration. Montagu was not a prominent actor until the decisive step had been taken by Monck to admit the Presbyterian members hitherto excluded from the Long Parliament. Yet in spite of occasional lapses, the judgments pronounced are sound and the facts accurate. The style is attractive and the organization well adapted to its purpose. Eleven reproductions of portraits add to the value of the book.

GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

THE LEVELLERS: A HISTORY OF THE WRITINGS OF THREE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, JOHN LILBURNE, RICHARD OVERTON, WILLIAM WALWYN. By *Joseph Frank*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. viii, 345, \$5.00.) This contribution to the growing bibliography of literature on the radicals of the Puritan Revolution is a carefully documented, chronological study of the origins and development of the Leveller party, based essentially on the pamphlets and manifestoes of the leaders themselves. As the author remarks, "since no previous work on the Levellers has dealt with all the writings of the leaders of that party or has tried to reconstruct the story of the Leveller movement by working outward from its publications, a supplement to previous scholarship is

warranted." After two biographical chapters tracing the careers of Lilburne, Walwyn, and Overton to 1645, Dr. Frank turns to Lilburne's split with Prynne and the Presbyterians and traces the movement from its formation in 1646 through its death as an active political faction in 1649, ending with a much briefer account of the subsequent writings and careers of the three leaders. This strictly chronological treatment of the material gives new clarity both to the men themselves and to the party. The reasons for the growing secularism of the movement with its shift of emphasis from the question of toleration to that of increasingly radical political and social reform become apparent. Relatively little attention is paid to the army debates themselves, but the extensive analysis of the materials of the period before the Whitehall debates casts new light on the factional relationships of this complex period. In this author's sympathetic hands, William Walwyn gains new stature as the intellectual leader and guiding spirit of the movement. In spite of the use of many new pamphlets, little information emerges to change established interpretations. If *The Levellers* lacks the broad interpretation and understanding of Haller's *Liberty and the Puritan Revolution*, it is in part due to the narrower limitations of this problem. The careful narration of events and the detailed analysis of the material considered make this a useful study. The notes and bibliography are excellent.

HELEN NUTTING, *Wells College*

THE BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM. By the Late *William C. Braithwaite*. Second Edition Revised by *Henry J. Cadbury*. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. xxviii, 607, \$4.75.) This is a second edition of Braithwaite's classic exposition of the early days of the Society of Friends, first published in 1912, slightly revised and copiously annotated by Dr. Henry Cadbury. The book deals with the period of 1646 to 1660 while the Seekers and "Children of Light" were pioneers and active missionaries and before quietism had captured the Society of Friends. It records in almost overpowering detail the persecution of the earliest Friends by the English government and by religious authorities, based not so much on the purity and clarity of the Quaker message as on the liveliness of the Quakers' denunciation of constitutional authority and on their criticism of dominant parsons. Unfortunately this second edition is not a thorough revision but a reprint from the original plates of the Macmillan edition with only a few pages reset, without substantial alterations. This is perhaps unfortunate as the original footnotes refer to manuscripts now located in Friends House, Euston Road, as being in Devonshire House, the former depository of Quaker archives. It is also regrettable that the revised edition in its notes and slight foreword by L. Hugh Doncaster sheds little or no new light on the disputed question of George Fox's role as the "Founder" of the Quaker movement. Readers would probably like to know if Dr. Cadbury thinks the devoted adherents of Fox did, or did not, tamper with evidence in order to establish the primacy of Fox. Moreover, while both Dr. Cadbury and Mr. Doncaster indicate that modern research has shown Quakerism in a somewhat different light from Braithwaite's exposition, neither develops fully what these new points of view are. Braithwaite saw Quakerism largely as an isolated and unique movement, self-generated and self-impelled, which George Fox and his followers experienced. Nevertheless the new edition is worth reading because of its wide treatment of the early days of Quakerism. It remains a sound piece of historical interpretation of the Quaker beginnings as a form of institutional Christianity.

ANNE PANNELL, *Sweet Briar College*

THOMAS BRAY. By *H. P. Thompson*. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1954, pp. vii, 119, 12s.6d.) This compact and handsome volume sets forth the busy life story of the prince of ecclesiastical "projectors," Dr. Thomas Bray (1658-

1729), the bishop of London's commissary in Maryland and the founder of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and Bray's Associates. It is neither a picture of the times nor a probing study of personality, but a faithful record of Bray's own manifold activities in the cause of learning and of the Church of England. Mr. Thompson's calm presentation of facts leaves the reader to judge for himself the intellectual and social significance of a man who sent countless libraries and missionaries to America. Although the author has made an independent study of the sources, he does not add greatly to the able series of articles on Bray published in this country by Professor Samuel Clyde McCulloch. Mr. Thompson's bibliography will guide the scholar to Dr. McCulloch's scattered writings, while the general reader will profit by having a comprehensive and adequate treatment of the pious, scholarly, and eminently practical Dr. Bray within the covers of one pleasant book.

J. HARRY BENNETT, JR., *University of Texas*

VICTORIAN PEOPLE: A REASSESSMENT OF PERSONS AND THEMES, 1851-67.

By *Asa Briggs*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. ix, 313, \$5.00.) This is a much-changed American edition of a volume with the same title published in England in 1954. It adds to the growing reputation of Asa Briggs, who has recently been appointed professor of history at Leeds. He has rewritten the introduction and the epilogue. Changes have been made in many chapters and a useful bibliographical note has been added. The new edition is both adapted to general readers in the United States and improved for historians. Both should enjoy it. Essentially, *Victorian People* is a solidly grounded and vividly written study of the period between the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Reform Bill of 1867. The tone is political, yet it is far from conventional political history. The values are those of G. M. Young, but this portrait of an age is less concerned with cultural forms than with social questions. The method is that of Lytton Strachey, for it studies the nature of English unity through a variety of selected people, but these eminent Victorians are not targets for literary satire. Though most are secondary figures, they are used to concentrate attention on a succession of significant issues. The Crystal Palace becomes the symbol of the age in the opening chapter, since no one person could typify the whole period. The impact of the Crimean War on politics is considered through J. A. Roebuck, mid-Victorian government through Trollope and Bagehot, changes in the public schools through Thomas Hughes, the growth of trade unions through Robert Applegarth, the gospel of work through Samuel Smiles, the creed of reform through John Bright. Two final chapters deal with "Robert Lowe and the Fear of Democracy" and "Benjamin Disraeli and the Leap in the Dark"; they provide the best account yet written of the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867. Victoria and Albert, Russell and Palmerston, Derby and Gladstone appear at appropriate times. Their importance is implicit, but the author keeps these most eminent Victorians from taking over his plan of action. After all, it was not an age dominated by its leaders but a time of many and various ideas and experiments, all sheltered under a new canopy of social optimism. In short, a Crystal Palace.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK, *Mills College*

THE LOYALISTS OF NEW BRUNSWICK. By *Esther Clark Wright*. (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, the Author, 1955, pp. 365, \$4.50.) In this volume Mrs. Wright follows the Loyalists who came to New Brunswick in their flight from the United States, their settlement in their new homes, the organization of their government, their distribution, and their assimilation into the native population. By a painstaking search of lists of passengers on the immigrant ships and of claimants for compensation from the British government, she draws the conclusion that about seventy-

five per cent of the refugees came from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. She dispels the widely accepted belief that among them were many aristocratic families. There were men of wealth and education among the Loyalists, but most of them went to Great Britain, leaving the wilderness of New Brunswick to the yeoman, the carpenter, the cooper, the cordwainer, the shipwright, etc. At Saint John in 1785, of over five hundred freemen, only nineteen were listed as gentlemen, and thirty-four as merchants. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth; Jonathan Odell, a grandson of Jonathan Dickinson; and three Harvard graduates, Jonathan Bliss, Daniel Bliss, and James Putnam, were among the few representatives of prominent families. After distributing themselves throughout the province, most of the refugees gradually adapted themselves to conditions there and became New Brunswickers. Some returned to the United States, a few went to Great Britain, and others, in search of fertile land, migrated to Upper Canada. The first three chapters of Mrs. Wright's book, which deal with the Loyalists while in the United States and the flight to New Brunswick, are the weakest part. She has consulted the Clinton Papers, the Carleton Papers, and other documentary sources, but she has neglected the equally important printed material—*The Royal Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Packet*, *Mercury*, Thomas Jones's *History of New York during the Revolution*, I. N. Phelps Stokes's *Iconography*, etc. Her statement that the Loyalists have been for the most part contemptuously dismissed by historians of the American Revolution needs modification. One wonders whether she has read C. H. Van Tyne's *Loyalists in the American Revolution*, or the various volumes on the Loyalists in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The list of New Brunswick Loyalists presented as an appendix is a real contribution and will be especially welcomed by genealogists.

T. J. WERTENBAKER, *Princeton, New Jersey*

TWO JAMAICAS: THE ROLE OF IDEAS IN A TROPICAL COLONY, 1830-1865. By Philip D. Curtin. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 270, \$4.75.) This exemplary monograph features the role of ideas in the social, economic, political, and cultural revolutions in Jamaica between 1830 and 1865. The period is marked by a continuous conflict between two Jamaicas: the whites supported by the colored, and the Negroes supported by the missionaries, respectively. After abolishing slavery and imposing free trade, the imperial government attempted to save the plantation economy with programs of moderately controlled free labor. Bent on perpetuating the plantation system and political control, the whites pleaded violation of their constitutional rights and corrupted the free labor programs. The Negroes accepted abolition gratefully but wanted no part of a controlled labor system. They withdrew from the estates, formed settlements, and laid the foundations of new small-scale agricultural industries. The plantations shrank to about one half their former number, and resident colored, Negro, and white owners replaced the absentee planters. Having won freedom, the Negroes under native and missionary leadership gradually built up pressure for political equality, which culminated in the revolt at Morant Bay in 1865. Although brutally suppressed, the revolt marked the end of white domination, for the whites, fearful of Negro supremacy, surrendered self-government for imperial protection. Left to their own devices in education, the Negroes retained much of their African culture. From the missionaries they acquired the techniques of successful organization, but, to the consternation of their teachers, the Negroes blended Christianity with *myalism* and *obeah* to form an African-Christian cult. With the exception of the manuscript materials of the Colonial Office, the sources on the subject have been well covered. Three appendixes supplying governors, secretaries of state for the colonies, and statistics on sugar for the period, a black-on-white map of Jamaica, and

fourteen plates supplement and embellish this very fine interpretative study which fills a void in Jamaican history. EDGAR L. ERICKSON, *University of Illinois*

NORTH AMERICAN SUPPLY. By *H. Duncan Hall*. [History of the Second World War, United Kingdom Civil Series: War Production Series.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green; distrib. by British Information Services, New York, 1955, pp. xvi, 559, \$6.30.) The British official series on World War II is broader in scope than that under preparation in the United States, including volumes on over-all war administration and economy as well as strictly military activities. *North American Supply*, the latest volume in the civil series, deals with British procurement of supplies in the United States and Canada. It is much more than a mere supply story, its real central theme being the economic relationship between the United States and Britain from 1939 through 1945. At the beginning of the war in 1939, the British cabinet decided it must husband its meager dollar resources and rely on the United States for emergency and reserve supply only. The events of spring, 1940, forced the abrupt abandonment of this policy in the interests of national survival. From 1940 on, the whole British war economy was geared to the expectancy of receiving a continuing flow of supplies from the United States. In making this decision, the British had to gamble that the United States would abandon its stringent cash and carry policy, for they knew they could not continue for long to pay for these supplies themselves. It is not surprising therefore that the largest part of this volume is devoted to the critical period of 1940. The financial dilemma, "the barrier of exchanges," was solved by lend-lease. Lend-lease and its counterpart, reciprocal aid, not only removed the dollar sign from American aid but provided, after Pearl Harbor, mechanisms for meshing the war economies of the United States and the United Kingdom in the support of a common war effort. As the war's end approached, however, Americans began to take a much narrower view of lend-lease, and Britain soon found itself forced to face the future uncertainly, without the tapering off period she had expected to enable her to readjust her economy. The semitragic story of the end of lend-lease is here told in detail for the first time. The volume is an invaluable contribution to the study of Anglo-American relations in a most critical period. While the author has failed, on occasion, to do complete justice to American views or contributions, it is but a minor defect in an otherwise excellent work. He seems, for instance, unaware of the American Victory Program of September, 1941, and gives the British entirely too much credit for pushing the United States into an all-out effort for maximum war production. On the other hand, all thinking Americans would profit from reading the analysis contained in the final chapter of the difference in governmental processes in Britain and the United States and how they affect the determination and execution of policy in each state.

ROBERT W. COAKLEY, *Washington, D. C.*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

THE BOURGEOISIE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Elinor G. Barber*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 165, \$3.50.) This stimulating study is an attempt at once to illuminate the position of the bourgeoisie in eighteenth-century France and to show the usefulness in historical research of a certain social theory derived from the writings of Parsons and Merton. Mrs. Barber makes no effort to analyze and correlate all the component structures of society; her restricted inquiry concerns itself principally with class or stratificational structure. Her thesis is that the highly differentiated French bourgeoisie found itself before the Revolution in an ambiguous situation. It was both linked and divided by loyalties to contradictory values and torn by ambivalent feelings toward its predicament of wishing to thrust itself into the ranks of the hereditary nobility and yet feeling morally guilty in so desiring. In the course of the century the predominant allegiance of the middle bourgeoisie to the existing class structure was progressively eroded. By the 1780's, largely in consequence of the failure of the Old Regime, the latent hostility turned into open rejection. In successive chapters Mrs. Barber examines the facets of this development—the conflict of values between the elements of caste and open society within this class structure, the denial of the bourgeoisie's aspirations of social mobility (a curtailment which reached crest in the "feudal reaction"), and changes in bourgeois ways of life and views concerning the desired and desirable pattern of living. This regrettably oversimplified statement of the author's purpose, procedure, and interpretation does not do justice either to her carefully controlled analyses or her cautiously advanced judgments. With her shaded and tentative conclusions there can be little disagreement. The implications that they raise, however, will be far more vigorously contested, and not least by the proponents of the school of Labrousse. Fuller, more exhaustive research is in order. Meantime, this brief study amply vindicates the utility of the social theory that it employs. Students of the French eighteenth century are in Mrs. Barber's debt for the insights that she has placed at their disposal.

LEO GERSHOY, *New York University*

A JOURNAL OF THE TERROR: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE OCCURRENCES IN THE TEMPLE DURING THE CONFINEMENT OF LOUIS XVI, BY M. CLÉRY, THE KING'S VALET-DE-CHAMBRE, TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE LAST HOURS OF THE KING, BY THE ABBÉ DE FIRMONT. Edited by *Sidney Scott*. (London, Folio Society; distrib. by Philip C. Duschnes, New York, 1955, pp. x, 163.) The first French edition of Cléry's *Journal* was published in London in 1798 and twice reprinted during the early nineteenth century. The present translation, apart from a few minor changes, is substantially that of the London edition, also of 1798. The translation of the *Mémoire* of de Firmont, better known to English-reading students as the abbé Edgeworth, is an endeavor to put the French

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

version of 1798 into an English idiom comparable with that of the French original. This handsome volume, adorned with a number of reproductions of contemporary drawings, is in the best tradition of bookmaking that one associates with the name of the publisher. The historical worth of these two old royalist memoirs has neither increased nor diminished with the passage of time. The new introduction and postscript, like the editorial footnotes, are in keeping with the contents and with the mood suggested by the binding design, which bears the arms of Marie Antoinette. L. G.

JOURNAL OF MY LIFE DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Grace Dalrymple Elliot*. (Emmaus, Pa., Rodale Press, 1954, pp. xiii, 153, \$3.95.) The *Journal* of the beautiful Scottish-born Mrs. Elliot last appeared in a French translation in the Barrière collection of memoirs. The original English printing of 1859 is here faithfully reproduced, together with the anonymous preface and the brief concluding editorial comment. The ravishing Mrs. Elliot, to judge by her comments and asides, was not politically literate. She did not have to be: eighteenth-century gentlemen also preferred blondes. The least of the virtues of her simple account is the light it throws upon the political career of her lover, the duke of Orleans. But she had common sense, human sympathies, a sense of justice, and, best of all, sharp eyes and ears. Her lively and vivid account of life during the Revolution, because of its very simplicity and especially when she writes about the arrested suspects, may still be read with enjoyment and possibly with profit. Not all "aristos," it appears, were scoundrels, not all revolutionaries, brutes. L. G.

LE CONVENTIONNEL BELGE, FRANÇOIS ROBERT, (1763-1826) ET SA FEMME, LOUISE DE KERALIO, 1758-1822. By *L. Anthéunis*. (Wetteren, Belgium, Editions Bracke, 1955, pp. 97.) This excellent sketch of François Robert and his wife traces the varying fortunes of these zealous disciples of Rousseau. Though only minor actors in the great drama of the French Revolution, they achieved some distinction by their early championship of republicanism. Dr. Anthéunis, in fact, credits Robert with being the first seriously to advocate the overthrow of the monarchy. He had already toyed with this dangerous idea when he arrived in Paris in 1789, but it is doubtful whether he would have been courageous enough to express himself had it not been for Louise de Keralio, who, in 1791, became his wife. This lady, his superior both in intellect and education, put iron into his soul, and thus this obscure Belgian lawyer became the center of the republican faction and was one of the guiding spirits of the coup in August, 1792. But the Roberts were not inclined to martyrdom, and they altered their views to suit the changing political climate until, during the Empire, they sank into obscurity. The brilliant and erudite Louise spent her time writing tiresome romances in the fashion of that time, and Robert himself ended his days as the proprietor of a liquor shop, Au Bon Coin. It was not a heroic ending, but the Roberts are not heroic figures. Their devious ways of making a living, their ostentatious display of wealth, their fawning before the politician of the hour, all show them as something less than Olympians. They were typical of their age, however, and this brief volume is a good footnote to the history of that turbulent period.

RUTH FRIEDRICH, *Washburn University*

MÉMOIRES DU PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND (ET CE QU'IL N'A PAS DIT). Edited by *Paul Léon*. In seven volumes. Volumes IV, V, VI, VII. (Paris, Henri Javal, 1954-55, pp. 225; 237; 226; 246.) These four volumes complete the republication of the Bacourt-Broglie version of the Talleyrand memoirs begun by Professor Léon in 1953 (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 696; April, 1955, p. 658). They reproduce Talleyrand's

voluminous correspondence with Louis XVIII from the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, and with Louis-Philippe from the London Belgium Conference, 1830-1834; both periods were nadirs of French national prestige, both retrieved diplomatic victories born of military defeat or social revolution. M. Léon adds little to our knowledge of these dispatches beyond the researches of Pallain, Sorel, and Bertrand, which he admirably evaluates. He does, however, draw on a vast literature of Talleyrand's letters, speeches, political writings, and *bons mots*, together with the most important memorials of these epochs, to reconstruct what the memoirs "did not say," from Talleyrand's disgrace and exile in 1816 through his reluctant return to the Catholic Church at the time of his death in 1838. M. Léon's last volume provides a contribution to the historiography of the Talleyrand memoirs. His analysis of the prince's composition, the posthumous editing, and the proven disfiguration of the original documents, together with the strange history of the Talleyrand manuscript, supplants Lacour-Gayet. M. Léon clearly explains, but unhappily does not resolve, the differences between the conflicting groups of critics of the memoirs: Sorel-Chuquet-Monod-Bourgeois; Aulard; Welschinger; and Funck-Brentano. Each of these groups, on the basis of textual exegesis, assigned the authorship of the final printed version, as well as the blame for doctoring the original, to different persons—relatives, confidants, or legal executors of Talleyrand. The editor's conclusion, that despite tampering, "the memoirs still reflect his imprint, the mark of his mind, and the grace of his style," while not daring, is, in the light of the facts, sound. Professor Léon and his publishers have done historians a service by once again making available this invaluable source long out of print and difficult to procure. Yet, the task of a critical edition, based on the original texts and scrupulously mindful of detail and historical revision, still remains.

LOUIS S. GREENBAUM, *University of Massachusetts*

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE: THE CRITICAL YEARS, 1848-1851. By Edward T. Gargan. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1955, pp. xii, 324, \$3.50.) Following the Revolution of 1830, Alexis de Tocqueville, who, according to the author, neither opposed nor welcomed the upheaval, determined to visit America. There he became acquainted with the political institutions of the young Republic and later wrote his famous *Democracy*. Upon his return to France he saw his country move toward the Revolution of 1848. This event affected him greatly. Forced to abandon Guizot's theory that the democratic movement "was a gradual and inevitable progression," he accepted the political changes that marked the downfall of the monarchy, although he bitterly opposed the socialist menace. Entering the political arena after the Revolution, Tocqueville played a significant part in the drafting and interpretation of the constitution of the Second French Republic. His political career came to an end when he unsuccessfully tried to help direct and soften the counter-revolutionary movement in France so as to prevent the *coup d'état* of 1851. In writing this thesis, the author claims that his paramount objective was to indicate the cumulative impact of Tocqueville's political experiences on his "selection of the intellectual task of his full maturity" (p. xi). But Dr. Gargan also maintains that "the full import of Tocqueville's education in the Revolution of 1848 to 1851 is best understood when it is recognized how many of his reflections and observations on the course and meaning of the Revolution coincide with the observations which Marx was making of these years" (p. 249). "In the final issue," writes the author, Tocqueville "remained pledged to the spiritual movement of history," and "the attainment of a free society," while Marx, who was not unaware of this spiritual force, "turned consciously to the mastering of the material forces in history" (pp. 249, 307-308). The author's discussion is fresh, interesting, and useful. It would seem, however, that he

tends to interpret his hero's career in terms of the conflicts and problems of today rather than of the past. Moreover, historians may find it difficult to accept some of the author's conclusions. The book is well documented. It contains an excellent bibliography and a useful index. FRANKLIN C. PALM, *University of California, Berkeley*

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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DANMARKS GAMLE KØBSTADLOVGIVNING. Volume III, SJÆLLAND, LOL-LAND, FALSTER, MØN, FYN OG Langeland. Edited by Erik Kroman. (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1955, pp. 614, Dan. kr. 62.50.) Volumes I and II of this series, which appeared in 1952 and 1953, dealt with southern and northern Jutland from about 1200 to the early sixteenth century. Volume III covers Zealand and five other islands lying east of Jutland. The earlier of its 366 documents are in Latin; the later, from 1422 on, are nearly all in Danish. The editor, Erik Kroman, is an archivist and paleographer of distinction. From many places he has assembled documents in print and in manuscript, consisting of laws and ordinances issued by eighteen chartered towns and accepted by Danish kings who saw advantage in encouraging their growth. Topics dealt with here include many phases of medieval town life: fishing, trade, and markets; treatment of foreign traders and rural peddlers; rules for building and thatching urban houses; craftsmen and guild meetings; customs at weddings, childbirth, christenings, and funerals; taxes and exemptions; town defenses; breaches of the peace and their handling; protection of orphans; town government; and much besides. Volume IV will deal with Bornholm and the provinces east of the Sound—Scania, Halland, and Bleking—which remained Danish until 1658. Altogether, seventy-three towns will be represented in Volumes I-IV. The fifth and last volume of the series will contain explanatory essays and an index. This admirably edited work is a model of its kind. When completed, it should prove a valuable, and indeed an indispensable, source for scholars interested in the history of Scandinavian and northern European medieval towns.

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LANDSBÓKASAFN ÍSLANDS. ÁRBÓK 1953-1954. (Reykjavik, 1955, pp. 152.) This biennial library report again includes a section of writings on Icelandic subjects in languages other than Icelandic.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

DIARY OF A DYING EMPIRE. By *Hans Peter Hanssen*. Translated by *Oscar Osburn Winther*. Edited by *Ralph H. Lutz, Mary Schofield, and O. O. Winther*. Introduction by *Ralph H. Lutz*. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1955, pp. liii, 409, \$6.75.) A more informative title for this book, first published in 1924 in Copenhagen as *Fra Krigstiden*, would have been "Berlin Diary, 1914-18." Its author was an owner and editor of Danish newspapers in North Schleswig, a member of the Prussian Diet 1896-1908 and of the German Reichstag 1906-1918, becoming "the leader of the Danish minority" (p. xxx). The diary consists of notes, "always close to the events" but often made under conditions which forbade inclusion of "many things of interest" (p. vii). Parts of the original Danish publication which the editors considered of secondary importance are omitted from this English translation. While Hanssen's son was on active service in a German regiment, his own primary objective remained the return of North Schleswig to Denmark. Pending the attainment of this, Hanssen was frequently occupied in defending his fellow Danes from wartime discriminations. He attended the meetings of the finance committee of the Reichstag, which considered many matters of grave importance, sometimes in secret. Although this reviewer has noted no major revelations, Hanssen's reports of these meetings are valuable source material, particularly for the discussions of the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare and of the Peace Resolution of July, 1917. Of equal interest are Hanssen's observations on the fluctuating reactions of the Berliners and his fellow deputies to the outbreak and progress of the war. These observations regrettably diminish in the third quarter of the diary but are resumed in a vivid account of Berlin in defeat and revolution. This culminates on November 9, 1918, when Hanssen steadied the feet of Scheidemann as the latter stood on a balustrade of the Reichstag to proclaim the Republic. That evening, Hanssen gave a banquet for Scandinavian and Dutch journalists. The translation gives the impression of being a labor of love. A description of the functions of the finance committee would have been helpful. On the other hand, interest and enjoyment are enhanced by the introductory sketch of Hanssen's life by *Ralph H. Lutz* and the extensive biographical notes at the end of the diary.

SINCLAIR W. ARMSTRONG, *Brown University*

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, 1918-1933. By *Peter J. Fliess*. [Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series, No. 4.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1955, pp. x, 147, \$2.50.) Peter Fliess has added another facet to the body of knowledge designed to explain why the Weimar Republic failed. It becomes evident quite soon that Fliess is simply using press freedom as a sounding board for the advisability of the arbitrary introduction of liberalism and a liberal constitution in Germany. He concludes that the institutional framework within which the press had to work did not provide secure freedom. The reasons are to be found in the erroneous expectation that institutional forms could divert the course of tradition; and in the fact that the framers of the constitution themselves had a judicious skepticism toward the principles they tried to write into it. Fliess blames the rightest press and the reactionary nature of the courts for the assassinations and the misdirecting of the emergency action taken. He contends that the premature adoption of a system of liberties "... in a society badly divided on political fundamentals and without stable political structure no doubt constituted the major dilemma of Weimar Germany and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

was responsible for the failure of its liberal constitution" (p. 98). The structure and organization of the work is admirable, and Fliess's use of materials select and adequate.

AMOS E. SIMPSON, *University of Arkansas*

STUDIEN. By *Ludwig Beck*. Edited by *Hans Speidel*. (Stuttgart, K. F. Koehler, 1955, pp. 302, DM 20.) This book contains nine studies written in 1938-1944 by General Ludwig Beck, the former chief of the German general staff who lost his life in the struggle against Hitler. It thus complements Wolfgang Foerster's *Ein General kämpft gegen den Krieg* (Munich, 1949, rev. ed. 1953). The studies deal with two related themes. Several papers present Beck's views on the nature of military leadership and operations. Others analyze aspects of World War I: the German war plans, Ludendorff's demand for an immediate armistice, and the career of Marshall Foch. The studies reveal Beck's critical attitude toward the German military plans of 1914 and his equally critical view of Ludendorff's conduct of the last stages of the war (see especially the new material on pp. 217-18). The primacy of political over military considerations is consistently stressed. A searching analysis of the phenomenon of total war illuminates Beck's fundamental opposition to the Nazi regime (pp. 244-45, 248-51). Also included is a report Beck wrote in 1920, emphasizing the problem of the relative power of commanders and chiefs of staff, and prophetically demanding more attention to the proper orientation of troops in such ethical questions as the treatment of civilians (see also p. 255). An appendix brings Beck's report on his trip to Paris in 1937; the account does not differ as radically from Gamelin's as the editor indicates. General Speidel has added biographical material, introductory remarks, and a summary of French pre-World War I plans. Unfortunately, he fails to indicate the nature of the collection from which the published papers were selected. The book's interest is clearly limited to specialists on World War I and the German opposition to Hitler. But so many self-laudatory memoirs of German generals have appeared recently, that a literary monument to one who deserves it is especially welcome.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG, *University of Kentucky*

DIE OSTGEBIETE DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES: EIN TASCHENBUCH. Edited by *Gotthold Rhode*. Im Auftrage des Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrates. (2d ed.; Würzburg, Holzner, 1955, pp. xv, 288, maps, DM 14.70.) The lost territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line promise to be even more significant for German feelings than was Alsace-Lorraine for the French. This handbook is the latest and most factual item in a rapidly growing bibliography on the German east, seen within the pre-1937 boundaries of the Reich. A group of scholars attempts here to move from detailed historical perspective to some analysis of the present situation in demographic, political, sociological, and economic terms. They desire to counteract what they consider erroneous theses, ranging from the prior claim of the Slavs to the areas, to the argument that this German east was an economic burden for the Reich. The method attempts to be objective—Nazi falsifications are as clearly branded as Slavic exaggerations. There is an effort to be comprehensive: in some cases the Slavic argument is stated, given merit due, and then challenged. The restrained, factual presentation of the material is welcome. Less assuring, notably to Slavs, must be sections like those referring to excesses of Polish national organizations in Prussia before 1914 but omitting mention of corresponding activities of the *Ostmarken Verein* or the Pan-German League (pp. 98-102); or, statistical material that could be interpreted as reopening the eastern boundary questions of 1919-1921 (pp. 134-37). A group of maps at the end, intended to help the reader, may only confirm for Slavs their fears of an uninterrupted *Drang nach Osten*, a note hardly intended by these scholars. In summary,

here is a German case ably presented; if it stays within the pre-1937 Reich boundaries, it is a strong one by traditional European national principles.

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BETWEEN LIBERATION AND LIBERTY. By *Karl Gruber*. Translated by *Lionel Kochan*. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1955, pp. 240, \$4.50.) This contribution to "living history" makes absorbing reading. The author, presently the Austrian ambassador in Washington, after taking degrees in engineering and law, suffered for his anti-Nazi convictions only to emerge, in the final weeks of the Second World War, as the leader of the resistance forces in his native Tyrol. Belonging to the more progressive wing of the People's party, Dr. Gruber served briefly as postwar governor of the Tyrol before assuming charge of the Austrian Foreign Office at the age of thirty-six. Vigorous in mind and a spirited anti-Communist, he directed Austrian relations with other governments from 1945 until his resignation nearly eight years later; in that capacity he proved himself a "good European," albeit a realistic one appreciative of the hurdles that must be crossed before the goal of European integration can be reached. Detailed accounts of the prolonged efforts to arrange a state treaty, particularly the tortuous negotiations with Soviet Russia, invest these memoirs with enduring historical value. Tireless in energy, Dr. Gruber conferred with the principal statesmen and diplomatists of Europe and undertook trips to the United States and Brazil to acquaint public sentiment with the Austrian problem and to enlist governmental support for the recovery of sovereignty and independence. Central though the quest for a state treaty is in the book, illuminating testimony is provided on dealings with Italy over the South Tyrol, cut away from Austria after the First World War, and on the successful effort to keep southern Carinthia, coveted by Yugoslavia. There is a substantial fund of intimate information, too, on the bends and twistings in the internal politics of the Austrian Republic. Indeed, the revelations (chapter ix) on alleged flirtations in 1947 between People's party and Communist leaders for a Right-Left ministerial coalition, from which the democratic Socialists would have been debarred, touched off an explosion within the People's party which forced Dr. Gruber out of the Foreign Office. In the preface he defends, though unconvincingly, the propriety of a foreign minister releasing domestic political secrets while still in office. Written with telling directness, no little wit, and considerable descriptive power, the book contains shrewd observations on contrasts between the Old World and the New and between the Soviet and the American approach in foreign policy. The second impression of the German version of the book (*Zwischen Befreiung und Freiheit*, Vienna, 1953) contains passages, largely on internal affairs and piquant travel observations, that have been excluded from this translation. Curiously enough, maps, too, have been omitted, but the index is much more serviceable than the *Namenverzeichnis* of the original edition.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

STUDIES IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. By B. L. Ullman. (Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1955, pp. 393.) Professor Ullman's *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, published in the distinguished Roman series, "Edizioni di storia e letteratura," presents some of the gleanings of a lifetime spent in philological and bibliographical research, much of it in the libraries of Italy, France, and England. Of the twenty chapters, a dozen or so have been previously published as articles in various learned journals, although most of them are here revised and enlarged. It is impossible in a brief review to summarize or even to comment upon a score of articles ranging in content from "The Post-Mortem Adventures of Livy" to a critical description of Filippo Villani's personal copy of his *History of Florence*. Suffice it to say that most of them are detailed works of critical scholarship of the kind that are, as the author modestly notes in his preface, "insignificant in themselves perhaps, but necessary to a restoration of the great mosaic which the Renaissance was." It is obvious that Professor Ullman loves not only his Renaissance manuscripts but also the age which produced them, and he expresses the hope that his work "may contribute to some degree, however slight, to refurbishing the reputation of the Renaissance as one of the great epochs in the world's history" (p. 9). For the general historian, the most interesting chapters are those in which the veteran scholar presents a broader view of his favorite period in the attempt to place it in its proper perspective, notably chapter I, "Renaissance—the Word and the Underlying Concept"; chapter II, "Some Aspects of the Origin of Italian Humanism"; and chapter XVI, "Leonardo Bruni and Humanist Historiography." In the first of these there are judicious comments on the transitional character of Dante, who "ends the Middle Ages and begins the Renaissance," the secularization of learning, the preponderant role of laymen in the revival of antiquity, and their indifference to "the more professional or esoteric aspects of philosophy" (p. 21). The second chapter is devoted to a theme which the author assumes some will regard as reactionary, namely,

the fundamental importance of the revival of literature and the classics in the formation of the Renaissance. Finally, the chapter on Bruni is a spirited defense of the Florentine historian and of humanist historiography in general. It will be welcomed by those who have read Bruni's *Historia Florentini populi*, which, as Professor Ullman gleefully demonstrates, Fueter and Voigt—and the scholars, including Croce, who accepted their appraisal—apparently had not.

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley¹

WESTRUSSLAND ZWISCHEN WILNA UND MOSKAU: DIE POLITISCHE STELLUNG UND DIE POLITISCHEN TENDENZEN DER RUSSISCHEN BEVÖLKERUNG DES GROSSFÜRSTENTUMS LITAUEN IM 15. JH. By *Horst Jablonowski*. [Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, II.] (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1955, pp. 167, 17.75 fl.) The announced purpose of this work is to determine the political position and the political tendencies of the Russian population of the Great Principality of Lithuania during the fifteenth century with particular attention given to the rise of Moscow and to the position of Poland and Lithuania in eastern Europe. The work has two major parts. The first (pp. 11-55) is essentially a synthesis of the works of earlier historians. It deals with the territorial development of Lithuania, the union with Poland, the relationship of the Russian areas to the central government, the position of the Russian nobility and burghers, and the status of the Orthodox Church. The second part (pp. 59-152) is Jablonowski's original contribution and is a re-evaluation of the evidence of chronicles. The author establishes the sources of the earliest version of the Lithuanian Chronicles with dates and places of origin and determines that the version is politically pro-Lithuanian. Then he delineates attitudes within the Orthodox Church and tendencies among the Russians toward autonomy and toward both a pro-Muscovite orientation and a pro-Lithuanian orientation. In so doing he also weighs anti-Lithuanian evidence from the oldest version of the Lithuanian Chronicles and pro-Lithuanian evidence gleaned from non-Lithuanian or essentially anti-Lithuanian Chronicles. The author accomplishes his purpose and concludes that the Russians' position and tendencies helped more to strengthen Poland and Lithuania than Moscow. In spite of his complaint that some works were not available, he has been able to use all significant works. His book is well organized and well written, although the style is marred by the appearance of unusual Russian terms which might have been explained in a glossary. Part I should be required reading for teachers and scholars of eastern European history. Although disagreeing on some points, I know of no equally reliable and brief synthesis. Part II establishes what evidence unfavorable to Lithuania and to Moscow may be considered incontrovertible, thus helping the scholar to steer a course between the extreme positions taken by some Russian and Polish authorities. The author has not solved the question of how large a role religion played in the formation of political opinion, but he has narrowed the field for argument. A few conclusions seem unwarranted, especially (1) that no religious issue was involved in the attempted assassination of Casimir in 1481 (p. 121) and (2) that the princes of the upper Oka sought no change in their political position in the late fifteenth century (p. 127). It is unfortunate that such an excellent work should be accompanied

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

by a poor map. The straightening of boundaries results in a false representation of the area controlled by the princes of the region of the upper Oka River (districts of Smolensk and Chernigov-Seversk are added and land to the north is subtracted). Lesser cities are carelessly located. The book is otherwise remarkably free from technical errors. The bibliography is adequate; unfortunately, there is no index.

OSWALD P. BACKUS III, *University of Kansas*

SUKIENNICtwo WIELKOPOLSKIE XIV-XVII WIEKU [Wool production in Great Poland, 14th-17th centuries]. By *Antoni Mączak*. [Society of the Friends of History, Works of the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw. Studies on the History of Handicraft and Trade during the Feudal Epoch, No. 3.] (Warsaw, State Publishing House for Scholarly Works, 1955, pp. 324.) Few other subjects in economic history have been treated so thoroughly as the woolen industry and trade in the pre-capitalistic epoch. This book is another welcome addition to this particular field of historical research. It does great credit to the author for the scholarship and craftsmanship with which he has accomplished a difficult task. The first, introductory chapter analyzes the source materials available, yet not adequately utilized by other Polish historians. In chapter two the problem of raw materials, fluctuations of prices, and the policy of the guilds to get access to the wool are studied. The next chapter is devoted to the whole process from the preparation of wool onwards. The dyeing is treated by Mr. Mączak rather sketchily. The author refers to the fact that Polish cloth was, for the most part, not dyed at all, and he mentions also the lack of historical sources. Chapter four surveys the problem of supply of labor, production by the guildsmen, the role of outsiders, the craft of shearers, and the beginnings of capitalistic production. Chapter five is devoted to the story of the Polish cloth trade and, particularly, to the export and import of the finished cloth. The next chapter discusses the transformation of the cloth industry in Great Poland during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. The closing chapter summarizes the findings of the study. It must be said that the title of the book is somewhat misleading, as the author's attention is focused on the woolen industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Volume II, is quoted and the plates contained there reproduced, the name of Mrs. Carus-Wilson, the author of the excellent chapter on the woolen industry, is omitted.

MATTHEW M. FRYDE, *Columbia University*

ROZWÓJ LATYFUNDIUM ARCYBISKUPSTWA GNIEZNIENSKIEGO OD XVI DO XVIII WIEKU [Développement du grand domaine féodal de l'archevêché de Gniezno du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle]. By *Jerzy Topolski*. [Classe d'histoire sociale et économique, no. 40.] (Poznan, Société des amis des sciences et des lettres, 1955, pp. vi, 161.) First in a planned series of works on social and economic conditions in Poland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the present volume traces the growth and development of the properties of the Gniezno archbishop and archbishopric. Local records show an increase in ecclesiastical real estate holdings until their confiscation by the Prussian government in 1796. Useful basic historical material is here made available in descriptions of the transfer of property and in the dates and circumstances of the settling of new villages. On these primary materials, a number of preconceived conclusions, freely supported by references to Marx, Engels, and Stalin, have been superimposed. These condemn the exploitation of the peasants, taxes exacted in labor, and the "parasitical" life of the "feudal clergy." No material is presented unless it can serve as a framework for derogatory comment about the Catholic Church or pre-partition Poland. Under the semblance of historical scholarship only negative sides of the archbishopric as a landowner are brought out; its positive accomplishments are

ignored. Hence the conclusions are decidedly one-sided. Presenting a static view of the whole period, the author fails to grasp the significance of progressive changes which were occurring notably in the second half of the eighteenth century. Analysis of this process, temporarily halted by the partitions, might lead to a better understanding of the many factors implied by the term "social and economic conditions."

JANINA WOJCICKA, *Washington, D. C.*

REWOLUCJA 1905-1907 ROKU NA ZIEMIACH POLSKICH: MATERIAŁY I STUDIA [The Revolution of 1905-1907 on Polish territory: Materials and Studies.] Edited by the Institute of Social Sciences attached to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. (Warsaw, Books and Knowledge, 1955, pp. 646.) This volume is a collection of twenty-two seminar papers written during the period 1951 and 1952 by young Communist historians, pupils of the main party school, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1905. As the introduction admits, the papers emphasize mainly "the leading role of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania [S.D.K.P.i L.] and the historical importance of the brotherhood in arms between that party and the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party [R.S.D.W.P.]." Thus, the symposium was conceived and born as a Marxist work mainly about the relations of the two Marxist parties. The conception of the book, and the composition of the working team, the scholarly elite of the "cadres," determined the style and content of the symposium: it focuses heavily on the S.D.K.P.i L. and its gradual assimilation by the Bolshevik faction of the R.S.D.W.P. led by Lenin. The authors largely disregard and minimize the role of the largest and most active of all Socialist groups, the Polish Socialist party, known as the P.P.S. This, for instance, is like publishing a symposium on the French Revolution without discussing the part played by the Girondists. This partiality is an additional limitation of the symposium which otherwise often deals with minor details. Moreover, because the essays were written by young "activists," most of the papers reflect a zealous tendency to stress the authors' Leninist-Stalinist orthodoxy, to say what the party leaders would like to hear about the subject. In spite of these shortcomings the symposium is interesting and useful. It is interesting because it gathers in one volume a lot of material, largely about the socio-economic "basis" but also, to a much smaller extent, about the cultural "superstructure" of the Polish society of that time; the essay of Stefan Klonowski, entitled "Some Remarks on the Polish Literature of 1905," is one of the better components of the volume. The book is useful because, for the first time, at least to this reviewer's knowledge, the Revolution of 1905-1907 has been treated as affecting not only the Congress Kingdom of Poland but also Prussian and Austrian segments of the partitioned country. On the other hand, in accordance with the line taken from the very beginning by the present-day Communist regime of Poland, the work carefully omits revolutionary happenings in the "Eastern Marshes," where various Polish groups, mainly the P.P.S., but also the Jewish "Bund," played a considerable part. Unfortunately, the symposium cannot be called a fully scholarly work, despite its impressive scholarly apparatus. It is a strange hybrid of painstaking scholarship, as far as collection of data is concerned, and of biased propagandistic presentation and interpretation.

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Fritz T. Epstein

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVE OF CHIOS, 1577-1841. In two volumes. Edited by Philip P. Argenti. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xliii, 457; 461-1117, \$37.50 the set.) When Greek meets Greek the opening remark is likely to be, "Whence do you come?"—by which is meant, "From what part of Greece do you hail?" This local particularism—the product, presumably, of geographic diversity and compartmentalization—is reflected in Greek historiography as well as in other aspects of the national culture. Every region has its devoted local historians compiling chronicles, eulogizing distinguished native sons, and collecting documents. The island of Chios has been particularly fortunate in this respect. One of its sons, G. I. Zolotas, published a five-volume history between 1912 and 1928, and then the present author, Philip Argenti, followed with an impressive series of volumes dealing with every aspect of the island's history and culture. In this work the author has collected documents concerning Chiote history from several European archives. This procedure is necessary because Greece, having been independent little more than a century, has no archives with any real sequence of materials. Argenti presents a total of 516 documents in chronological order under each of the following headings: I. Physical Structure; II. Topography; III. Political History; IV. Economic History; V. Social History; VI. Religion. The political section deals with only a few selected events because the author already has considered the major milestones of Chiote history in separate studies. The documents on religion present an unifying picture of feuds and intrigues between the Orthodox majority and Catholic minority, though it is noticeable that the outbursts of fanaticism usually coincided with some attack upon Chios by one of the Catholic states. By contrast there were periods of amicable relations when intermarriages were not uncommon and when the clergy of both faiths officiated in each other's churches. The economic section is particularly revealing, showing that France dominated the island's commerce until the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars; that the chief local industry was in textiles; that wheat was exported until 1810; and that other exports included sage, coriander, anis, rose, jasmin, cinnamon, and the precious mastic for which Chios was famous. This section should be of interest to students of Mediterranean trade as well as of this island that has contributed so much to modern Greece. L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

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THE VERITABLE RECORD OF THE T'ANG EMPEROR SHUN-TSUNG (FEBRUARY 28, 805-AUGUST 31, 805): HAN YÜ'S SHUN-TSUNG SHIH-LU. Translated

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

with Introduction and Notes by *Bernard S. Solomon*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xxxi, 82, \$3.00.) Bernard S. Solomon offers the account of Shun-tsung's reign written by the great T'ang scholar Han Yü. He explains the position of the draft history, called the *shih-lu*, as a main source and preparatory step for the standard Dynastic Histories. Han Yü has written the *shih-lu* of Shun-tsung; and for definable political reasons, the original version of his draft was later abbreviated. It is this abbreviated version which has survived and which Dr. Solomon presents in a careful English translation, accompanied by competent philological and institutional explanations. The philologists will be pleased with the careful treatment of the text. The institutional historian will be happy to receive, in a reliable form, a case study of the role of eunuchs under the peculiar conditions of Oriental despotism that prevailed in China during the T'ang period. Political science is just discovering the problems of total power involved in the autocratic despotisms of hydraulic ("Oriental") society. To the study of this important subject Dr. Solomon has made a valuable contribution.

KARL A. WITTFOGEL, *University of Washington*

TANUMA OKITSUGU, 1719-1788: FORERUNNER OF MODERN JAPAN. By *John Whitney Hall*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, XIV.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xii, 208, \$6.50.) Tanuma, a Tokugawa administrator, earned something of a reputation for allowing if not encouraging corruption in government. Without minimizing the more unsavory aspects of Tanuma's conduct in office, Professor Hall points out that Tanuma made positive contributions which are often overlooked. The thesis, briefly stated, is that the traditional Tokugawa policies were inadequate to cope with new problems arising out of the development of a commercial economy within the country and the expansion of Europe which made continued national isolation untenable, and that Tanuma tried new and more realistic policies to cope with these pressing problems. The author shows how Tanuma, in striving to improve the financial position of the Tokugawa shogunate, encouraged the reclamation of new land, minted new coins to expand the currency base of the country, stimulated mining, particularly of metals, and tried to increase foreign trade through Nagasaki. It was also during the Tanuma period that the Russians approached from the north. "The possibility of opening the doors of trade in the north, both as a means of securing new wealth and meeting the Russians before they had advanced to the point of demanding concessions, was considered seriously by the shogunate. The Tanuma period thus offers us the prospect that Japan might have abandoned her seclusion policy voluntarily over a half a century before she was eventually forced to do so" (p. 90). But Tanuma was eventually driven from office and his "political fall obscured the benefits his programs might have brought." Professor Hall sees the causes of Tanuma's failure in his inability to stop the process of decay in the official class, to alleviate the misery of the people, and to avoid the accusation of self-interest and corruption in his private life. Tanuma's forced retirement from office was followed by what the author calls the "triumph of reaction." Innovation and experimentation were abandoned in favor of traditional policies. Professor Hall has made an important contribution in bringing out the positive side of Tanuma's administration and in placing this controversial figure in a more accurate historical perspective.

NOBUTAKA IKE, *Stanford University*

RUSSIA'S JAPAN EXPEDITION OF 1852 TO 1855. By *George Alexander Lensen*. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 208, cloth \$5.00, paper \$4.00.) A little over a hundred years ago, while the celebrated Perry was prying Japan open

with his cannons, a Russian naval squadron under Putiatin, with a similar mission, appeared off the coast of Nagasaki. This new argument definitively disabused the Japanese on the matter of isolation, and the "locked coffer with the lost key" yielded to the importunings and threats of the "barbarians." This little-known episode, but only certain aspects of it, is the subject of Dr. Lensen's book. Owing to limitations of sources, the author, a careful scholar, has not dealt with the mission as such but only with the peripheral aspects of the story. His preface reveals certain misgivings as to the scope of the volume, although he urges that light will be thrown on a number of questions of importance and interest. The reviewer found the misgivings justified and the illumination considerably less than promised. The reader is offered an engaging and often colorful narrative of the activities of the Russian vessels in Japanese waters and the confrontation of Russian and Japanese representatives and civilizations; but although this makes for a lively travel-adventure tale, replete with descriptions of people and places, paraphernalia and protocol, the study is so regrettably thin in matter of historical consequence that it might well have been confined to an article. It is to be hoped that Dr. Lensen, in continuing his investigation of Russo-Japanese relations, will employ his ample research and narrative skill on problems susceptible of fuller treatment in their central issues, thus rendering superfluous an abundance of extraneous detail.

S. H. BARON, *University of Nebraska*

POLITICAL CHANGE AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN: GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE, 1868-1880. By *Thomas C. Smith*. [Stanford University Publications, University Series; History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume X.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1955, pp. viii, 126, \$2.50.) The economic aspect of Japan's modern reaction to Western influence has received considerable attention of late by American scholars. In particular, the work of William Lockwood, *The Economic Development of Japan, Growth and Structural Change, 1868-1938* (Princeton, 1954) has added authoritatively to our knowledge of Japan's remarkable achievement in economic modernization. Despite such work, however, a period of critical importance remains to be documented. The thirteen years following the Restoration of 1868, during which government leadership was all-important, have escaped close examination, no doubt because of the feverish activity which they witnessed and the difficulty of obtaining reliable data. Professor Smith's scholarly monograph makes skillful use of Japanese materials and Western consular reports to explain the economic policies of the Japanese government during these critical years and to assess the methods by which the country successfully met the challenge of the West. It is the author's belief that in the early years after the opening of Japan's ports, the Western challenge was not so much military as social and economic. Attacking the previous assumption that Japan's success lay in the fanatical resolution of her leaders to sacrifice everything to military preparedness, he has demonstrated the primary interest of these leaders in programs of domestic reform. In 1868 Japan faced a number of staggering domestic problems: a disastrous trade balance, a shaky currency, a rapidly deteriorating handicraft industry, and a restive, unemployed military class. Her leaders sought a solution in "a forced march to industrialization." There is no evidence that the planners were committed to a policy of government control of enterprise. But faced with crisis conditions and a backward domestic economy, the government was forced to assume leadership and eventually to participate directly in business and industry. By 1880, however, the government had created the right environment for private enterprise and was able to extricate itself from all but the strategic industries. The above argument is supported through-

out by valuable tables and statistics. Less happy has been the brief attempt of the author to provide an answer to why the Japanese leaders, drawn as they were from a privileged military class, happened to champion social reform. In his suggestion that this was necessarily due to class pressure, and that by elimination this must have been provided by a rural capitalist class, he has permitted theory to outstrip evidence.

JOHN WHITNEY HALL, *University of Michigan*

THE BOXER CATASTROPHE. By *Chester C. Tan*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 583.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 276, \$4.50.) This very good brief analysis of the Boxer Movement in north China in 1899 and 1900 is the first book on the subject to appear in English that makes extensive use of the available Chinese source materials, although Robert B. Sheeks covered some of the same ground in 1947 in an essay issued in the first series of mimeographed "Papers on China" of the Harvard Regional Studies Program. Besides dealing with the origin and history of the Boxer Movement, the internal governmental struggles in connection with it, and the peace negotiations with the foreign powers after it had been suppressed, Dr. Tan devotes a couple of chapters to the less well known situation in Manchuria in 1900 and the subsequent Russo-Chinese negotiations in St. Petersburg. Use of the mass of Chinese documentary and other materials that has accumulated—especially during the past twenty-five years—has enabled Dr. Tan in important instances to correct the conclusions of earlier scholars such as A. H. Smith, P. H. Clements, and G. Nye Steiger. Although these writers had access to some Chinese documents that had come into foreign hands and been translated, they were dependent primarily upon Western diplomatic and missionary sources and so could not possibly tell the whole story. Among Dr. Tan's more significant corrections of the record are: (1) The Boxer bands were not militia recruited by order of the empress dowager but local groups organized to fight Chinese Christians which later with official encouragement became the center of a fierce antforeign movement. (2) Yüan Shih-k'ai vigorously suppressed the Boxers in Shantung even in the face of admonitions from Peking to deal with them with persuasion and nonviolence. (3) Although the court authorized the attack on the foreign legations after the fall of the Taku forts, it was never pushed very vigorously, presumably because Jung-lu, the imperial military commander, realized that extermination of the foreign diplomats would have the direst consequences for China; yet he felt compelled to obey the orders of the empress dowager. (4) Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-i, governors general of the Yangtze Valley provinces, and Sheng Hsüan-huai, director of telegraphs, not only maintained peace in central and south China and friendly relations with the foreign powers but also boldly applied pressure on the Peking government that somewhat weakened the reactionary forces there. (5) Li Hung-chang showed the greatest courage and statesmanship in forcing the court to accept unpalatable but unavoidable terms during the peace negotiations and so made possible a relatively quick settlement.

KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF, *Cornell University*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1940. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5916.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. iv, 1022, \$3.75.) This volume contains slightly more than eleven hundred papers arranged in three general categories suggested by the nature of the Far Eastern crisis which helped transform the European war of 1939-1941 into the World War of 1941-1945. The first division (301 documents relating to portents and happenings in the region south of China) charts the continued growth of American anxiety with respect to Japanese

designs upon the Netherlands East Indies, French Indochina, Hong Kong, Burma, and Thailand. The second section (772 documents) covers the manifold aspects of the undeclared war between Japan and the Chinese Republic. Treated here are such major topics as the course of Chinese resistance to Japanese aggression; the somewhat wordy attempts by the United States to protect American lives, property, and treaty rights in the affected areas; the gradual emergence of sanctions against Japan through enforcement of the export-control system in the United States; American efforts to provide China with military supplies and financial assistance; the withdrawal of American citizens from the Far East; and the further development of an American attitude toward Japanese demands regarding foreign concessions in China. The thirty-five documents of the last section are concerned with the analysis of political trends in Japan proper and with two or three subjects of relatively minor import, including the abrogation of the North Pacific Sealing Convention of 1911. Since the present volume duplicates nothing included in the State Department's earlier compilation of Far Eastern materials, *Japan, 1931-1941*, it adds considerably to the printed documentation for this area and period. However, most of these papers have long been available for examination by qualified students willing to consult State Department files, and so the effect of their appearance in print is to illustrate and confirm a well-known story rather than to change any of its main outlines.

DONALD F. DRUMMOND, *University of Michigan*

THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC: SEIZURE OF THE GILBERTS AND MARSHALLS.

By Philip A. Crowl and Edmund G. Love. [United States Army in World War II.] (Washington, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1955, pp. xvi, 414, \$5.75.) This study is the twenty-seventh volume to be published by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, on World War II. It tells the story of the background, planning, strategy, and tactical seizure of the Gilbert and Marshall islands—Makin, Tarawa, Kwajalein, Majuro, and Eniwetok—in late 1943 and early 1944. Most appropriately, the volume not only gives an exact, interesting, and painstakingly thorough account of these operations but emphasizes their place in the broader plan of thrusting up the crucial Central Pacific area toward the highest priority target of all, Japan itself. The book is based upon available U. S. and Japanese documents and literature and is buttressed by numerous interviews of on-the-spot participants from both sides. Though primarily a soldier's story, it does not slight the roles played by the Navy and the Marine Corps. Well organized and written with clarity, force, and quiet authority, the volume also presents an excellent selection of first-rate illustrations, maps, and charts. On the whole it matches well the high standard achieved by the other volumes already published in the U. S. Army historical series. As such it is a fundamental contribution to the literature on the war in the Pacific. The specialist in the field will find this book an absolute must. Yet the ordinary reader should not pass it up either. For if he will study it carefully his reward will far exceed his effort. This volume, though not intentionally perhaps, scores heavily for Central Pacific strategy. In retrospect the possibilities of this theater of operations as compared with those of the Southwest Pacific command tempts one to draw two conclusions: (1) the strategy employed by the United States in its war against Japan was "extravagant in its force requirements"; (2) the conflict in the Pacific could in all probability have been won sooner had the United States concentrated more of its vast power and resources in the Central Pacific to move the bomber line within reach of Japan at an earlier date.

GORDON W. PRANGE, *University of Maryland*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

THE NATION AND THE STATES, RIVALS OR PARTNERS? By *William Anderson*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 263, \$3.75.) Professor Anderson was the only professor appointed to the 25-member Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations. In the absence of a staff he volunteered to prepare a summary of the history and present status of national-state relations which became a "working paper" for the commission. This summary has been adapted to constitute this book. The commission was the one whose chairman proved to be so conservative as to embarrass the Eisenhower administration until he was removed. This book contains internal evidence of Professor Anderson's temperate reaction to the extreme conservatism or "states' rightsism" of some of the commission's members. His pattern of constitutional interpretation is essentially that expounded by Marshall and applied by Lincoln. It is presented with clarity and moderation but with the fervor of deep conviction. The colonists threw off the central control of parliament by the Revolution and then discovered that the resulting commercial anarchy of thirteen independent states made necessary the restoration of a central authority which the Constitution created. Here is a lesson of history that the "states' rightsers" must not compel us to relearn by another experience. The centripetal gravitation of functions has been due to no dogma, no diabolical demagogues but generally to the demands of labor unions, farmers organizations, and leaders of public education, public health, and such for federal services and aid. Opposition to the centralization comes from chambers of commerce, taxpayer associations, and associations of manufacturers whose confusion is betrayed by their ardent lip service to Marshall and Lincoln while professing devotion to "states' rights," the shibboleth of Calhoun and Davis, although Professor Anderson does not put it that bluntly. It is useless to depend on the intention of the framers for guidance as to the meaning of the Constitution—even Madison and Hamilton did not always agree on its meaning in the *Federalist Papers*. But striking contrasts between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution show clearly that the latter was designed to correct the former by establishing a national government. As to "state sovereignty" it is pointed out that the thirty-five states admitted to the union never had the slightest inherent powers and, in fact, have

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

only what were conferred upon them by the nation when admitted to the Union through acts of Congress. It is significant that the states have increased the exercise of their own powers even more than the federal government except for national defense.

WILFRED E. BINKLEY, *Ohio Northern University*

FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN FREEDOM. By *A. Mervyn Davies*. (Nashville, Tenn., Abingdon Press, 1955, pp. 253, \$3.50.) On this book's jacket, below the title, is a picture of John Calvin. A subtitle adds, "Calvinism in the Development of Democratic Thought and Action," thus indicating the thesis that Calvinism is the main ingredient and the mainspring of democracy as known in the United States. The author writes with the enthusiasm of one who has recently discovered the significance of religion for political and social developments. He writes with the verve and the skill of the trained journalist and with admirable selectivity marshals those facts and reflections which enable his argument to march with spirit to its appointed end. He runs the risks, of which he is well aware, of oversimplification and overstatement. His main concern is to contrast that liberalism which stems from the Enlightenment—notably the liberalism of the French Revolution—and that stemming from Puritanism, the British and the American variety. He finds in our democracy a solidity and soundness because the basic concept is the leveling doctrine of the sovereignty of God which brings to one plane the king and the commoner, the affluent and the indigent. Another stratification, however, is introduced—namely, between the elect and the non-elect—and here is a ground for aristocracy, an aristocracy not, however, incompatible with democracy, where leadership must be given by a minority of the worthy, the qualified, and the dedicated. The author is not naïve in tracing the origin of this sort of democracy to Calvinism. He recognizes fully the sins of the first generation of Calvinists against liberty. Often enough he finds the outcome an anomaly, an unforeseen, an undesired outworking of an idea. He recognizes full well that Calvinism had to undergo many changes in order to become compatible with a universal franchise, religious liberty, and separation of church and state. Yet he feels that these conclusions were implicit in original Calvinism. At the same time he is aware that original Calvinism itself was but the transmitter of the great Christian classical heritage of natural law and of medieval concepts of constitutional government. What I think is not sufficiently perceived is that Calvinism in England was modified by blending. A fusion occurred with the humanist tradition stemming from Erasmus, Colet, and the Florentine Neoplatonists. These strains modified Calvinism in the direction of religious liberty and the separation of church and state, plus, of course, the lessons of experience which the author does emphasize. There are naturally in a work of such scope statements to which a reviewer takes exception. I do not think that Calvin, for example, identified the "inferior magistrate" with parliaments and estates. Qualifications, elucidations, sharper distinction, these at many points may be desired. But by leaving them out the book no doubt gains in vigor, and although vigor is not the chief way of glorifying God it is not to be despised. The greatest merit of this book is that in my judgment the basic thesis is true.

ROLAND H. BAINTON, *Yale University*

THE ALBANY CONGRESS AND PLAN OF UNION OF 1754. By *Robert C. Newbold*. (New York, Vantage Press, 1955, pp. 208, \$3.50.) The origins, progress, and fortunes of the Albany Congress are the subjects of this brief study. After a quick look at earlier intercolonial efforts, the immediate French-oriented crisis in Indian affairs, and the ways in which Benjamin Franklin and Governor Shirley of Massachusetts used the occasion to promote a hope for provincial co-operation, the author turns

to the congress. In separate chapters he considers the commissioners, and the Indian aspect of the conference, and outlines general congressional conclusions. Succeeding chapters, making up over half of the text, concentrate on the plan of union—its origins and adoption at Albany, an analysis of provisions, the reception given the proposal by provincial legislatures, reaction in Britain, and significance. Appendixes present the plan itself and a comparison of its features with Franklin's preliminary suggestions; a bibliographical listing also is included, but there is no index. In attempting this special account of the congress and plan of 1754, the author is doing a job previously undone. By searching the sources and putting technical details together, suggesting a logical explanation for some earlier disagreements over the genesis of the plan, and following its story in the colonial legislatures, he has performed a service. But the essentials of the already accepted story are not changed thereby, and most students will have little occasion to use this book. The structure, style, and approach strongly suggest an academic exercise, while substantially unproductive narrative sections emphasize a need for pruning. In addition, a narrow concentration upon the technical history of the Albany Plan does not prepare the reader for its failure in all those legislatures which considered it, and the opportunity to relate that failure to the general story of colonial liberties is not fully realized.

RICHARD C. HASKETT, *George Washington University*

THE ABBÉ CORREA IN AMERICA, 1812-1820: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DIPLOMAT AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHER TO THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE; CORRESPONDENCE WITH JEFFERSON AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AND WITH OTHER PROMINENT AMERICANS. By *Richard Beale Davis*, Professor of American Literature, University of Tennessee. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLV, Part 2.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1955, pp. 87-197, \$2.00.) The name of the abbé Joseph Francis Correa da Serra is familiar to those who have had occasion to go through the published and unpublished correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, or to study the "neutrality laws" enacted by Congress to repress privateering against the commerce of nations not at war with the United States. A biography in Portuguese by Augusto da Silva Carvalho, published in 1948, may have widened the circle of cognoscenti. But for the general reader in this country Professor Davis will be breaking new ground. Born in 1750, the young priest had celebrated his first mass at St. Peter's in Rome before Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and by 1779 the Portuguese savant had organized the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon. Because of his scientific interests and liberalism, clerical hostility made it prudent for him to seek shelter in England from 1795 to 1802 and in Paris until 1812. In that year he came to the United States, where from 1816 to 1820 he served as Portuguese minister. In 1820 he returned to Europe, and died in 1823. "At home in every science," botany was his favorite, according to Jefferson, who regarded him as "the most learned man in the world, not merely in books, but in men & things." It was in a letter to Correa da Serra that Jefferson declared that "the right of nations to self government" was his "polar star" in politics, and made the observation, pertinent today, that "morals do not, of necessity advance hand in hand with the sciences." The abbé, in turn, performed "with devotion and gratitude" his "annual pilgrimage to Monticello." The scientific circle of the American Philosophical Society was also a congenial milieu during his sojourn in the United States. Professor Davis has published letters from, to, or concerning Correa da Serra during his American years (exclusive of his official correspondence as Portuguese minister). A checklist is given of the omitted extant letters to foreign correspondents. To the

documents, themselves highly interesting, he has prefixed a valuable biographical and analytical account of Correa da Serra's achievements, with special reference to his contributions to American cultural development.

EDWARD DUMBAULD, *Uniontown, Pennsylvania*

SEERESS OF THE NORTHLAND: FREDRIKA BREMER'S AMERICAN JOURNEY, 1849-1851. By *Signe Alice Rooth*. (Philadelphia, American Swedish Historical Foundation, 1955, pp. xiv, 327, \$3.75.) Miss Rooth here seeks to shed light on literary and social contacts formed by Fredrika Bremer on travels in America during 1849-1851 as well as to make available to the public for the first time a large number of letters which Miss Bremer wrote to her friends in America. In the first part of the book (pp. 1-150), dealing with Miss Bremer's travels and her wide circle of friends among America's social and literary elite, Miss Rooth's footnotes do not seem to be adequate, nor is she successful in freeing herself from a biased attitude toward a literary figure and feminist who does not need a press agent. Her account does, however, fortunately provide materials for an interesting picture of her subject. Miss Bremer, no great intellectual giant, was ennobled by her genuine spirit of humanitarianism, and it is through this spirit rather than her novels that she lives. The doors to America's social and literary circles had been opened to Fredrika Bremer by the translator of her novels, Mrs. Mary Howitt, who also translated her *Homes of the New World*. Though the author's debt to the translator was real, when gossip criticisms of *Homes of the New World* were added to comments on its serious shortcomings in observations and faulty spellings, Miss Bremer sought immediately to place the blame upon Mrs. Howitt's inability to translate her Swedish correctly. Miss Rooth's sources make it evident that Miss Bremer's grasp of English was at times inadequate, although she must have been a babbling brook. Nathaniel Hawthorne, one of those who least appreciated Miss Bremer on her American visit, felt he could not understand her English. Yet, years later he met her in Rome and was much impressed by her as "the funniest little, old fair in person whom one can imagine." She spoke at that time a fluent English in a low, quiet voice. Her cultivation of the friendship of Americans whom she loved is evident in her correspondence with her American friends from 1849 to 1865, printed in the appendix of Miss Rooth's volume. It was Miss Bremer's original intention to include in *Homes of the New World* sketches which she had drawn of Andrew Jackson Downing, Washington Irving, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James and Maria Lowell, Julia Ward Howe, Lucretia Mott, Catherine M. Sedgwick, and many other important social or literary figures whose acquaintance and hospitality she had enjoyed. The sketches were not included in Miss Bremer's book, but a number of them are reproduced in *Seeress of the Northland*, where they add great value and interest. The volume contains other illustrative material, as well as a bibliography and an index. The American Swedish Historical Foundation is to be congratulated in having sponsored Miss Rooth's work, the shortcomings of which are not serious.

O. FRITIOF ANDER, *Augustana College*

LAND OF THEIR CHOICE: THE IMMIGRANTS WRITE HOME. Edited by *Theodore C. Blegen*. (St. Paul, University of Minnesota Press, 1955, pp. xix, 463, \$5.75.) For a generation now Professor Blegen has enriched the American immigration story with copious use of immigrant source materials and has helped, through painstaking collecting and editing, to prepare such materials for scholarly use. This further installment from his workshop, a collection of Norwegian immigrant letters from 1820 to 1870, is preceded by a compact introductory essay, touching a relevant problem in historiography. Letters not hitherto published in English here predominate, but

there are included also many abstracts from letters already in print. Both extracts and "new" letters are freely grouped around broad topics, each the subject of a separate chapter and each prefaced by an introductory essay. The result is a representative set of raw materials, drawn from the legacy of the Norwegian group which Dr. Blegen knows so well and arranged in a manner that shows how such materials can be made quite manageable for use in a larger synthesis on immigration. For in the process, one editorial eye seemingly has been kept on that anticipated historian who will some day write the over-all definitive story and who in doing so will need to be cognizant of the identity and diversity of the many strands involved. Very properly Dean Blegen's concern is with the American scene. But the student who consults his volume will soon remind himself that much remains to be done also on the European side of the story. For the mass exodus of a century ago needs to be better fitted than heretofore into the large complex of changes—involving a shift from the emphasis on status to the emphasis on articulation, mobility, and personal freedom—which was manifest in the slow breakup of serfdom and the widespread urge toward emancipation. Moreover, if a true Atlantic community some day emerges, its eventual historian will surely recognize in the shuttle of letters to and from the nineteenth-century immigrant some of the basic material which he will need for his story.

OSCAR J. FALNES, *New York University*

CONGRESS AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *Edward Boykin*. (New York, McBride, 1955, pp. 352, \$5.00.) This volume seeks to "re-create a comprehensive series of momentous scenes in the cavalcade of the national legislature between 1819 and 1868" and to "summon back . . . colorful and towering personalities" who played prominent roles in Congress. In effect, the author succeeds in doing just that. Here pass in review the struggle over adopting the Missouri Compromise, the Henry Clay-John Randolph duel, Thomas Hart Benton's fight to expunge the Senate's resolution of censure of Andrew Jackson, Representative Charles Ogle's extravagant "gold-spoon" speech that pinned the aristocratic label on Martin Van Buren, John Quincy Adams' tenacious battle against the "gag rule" and his death in the Speaker's room of the capitol, the contest over the Compromise of 1850, Preston Brooks's brutal attack on Charles Sumner, the extended quarrel over electing a Speaker of the House in 1859-1860, Jefferson Davis' farewell to the Senate, Rose Greenhow's espionage intrigues, Senator Edward Baker's eloquent plea for support of Lincoln's military measures, and Thaddeus Stevens' venomous managing of Andrew Johnson's impeachment. Obviously the author has dealt with spectacular incidents in congressional history and has handled them effectively. But there is little that is new to historians in the accounts. Other than the fact that Congress holds the center of the stage, there is little that ties the volume together in a cohesive unity. Even the term "Civil War," as broadly viewed as Mr. Boykin does view it, can scarcely justify the inclusion of such diverse incidents as the application of the lovely Italian lady, America Vespucci, for a congressional grant of land from the vast territory named for her distant ancestor or the Clay-Randolph duel. Lacking footnotes and bibliography, the volume seems to be based primarily on the official reports of congressional debates and some letters of the principals. The merit of the work lies in the colorful, drama-packed scenes that the author has succeeded in "re-creating" in a fast-moving, pungent style that catches the tense, supercharged atmosphere of the time. DAVID LINDSEY, *Oberlin College*

THADDEUS STEVENS: A BEING DARKLY WISE AND RUDELY GREAT. By *Ralph Korngold*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1955, pp. xiv, 460, \$6.00.) From 1876 to 1947 no fewer than nine books on Thaddeus Stevens appeared. Now a tenth has

been published, and still another is in preparation. Probably the last word will never be said on a subject so controversial. Certainly Ralph Korngold has not come close to saying it. One quarter of his book, dealing with the years before the Civil War, he has put together from bits and pieces of other biographies. The rest he has based upon a re-examination not of manuscript collections but of various memoirs and the *Congressional Globe*, citing James G. Blaine as a sound authority and quoting Stevens' speeches often and at length. Such monographs as Howard K. Beale's *The Critical Year* he ignores. So far as he is concerned, words like *rebel* and *Copperhead* mean precisely what the Republicans of the time pretended they meant, and the only issue relevant to Stevens' career is that of slavery or freedom. He skips the part about Stevens' political shenanigans and his devotion to business interests. He has some new and worth-while things to say about Lincoln's resistance to emancipation, and he writes with a moral fervor which, in its proper place, would be commendable. But he passes the bounds of common sense in his admiration for Stevens, even comparing him with Jesus Christ.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

THREE YEARS WITH GRANT: AS RECALLED BY WAR CORRESPONDENT SYLVANUS CADWALLADER. Edited, and with an Introduction and Notes, by *Benjamin P. Thomas*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. xiv, 353, viii, \$4.75.) This sparkling volume consists of the reminiscences of Sylvanus Cadwallader, a wartime correspondent for the *Chicago Times* and later correspondent in chief of the *New York Herald*. Attached to Grant's headquarters from October, 1862, until Appomattox, he had an unrivaled view of the conduct of the war at the command level. A superb reporter, insatiably curious, physically courageous, keenly perceptive, Cadwallader was relentless in his pursuit of the news. Though a man of strong conviction, he was singularly free of prejudice. Cadwallader was, moreover, in a unique position. Thirty-six years old when he arrived at Grant's headquarters on the eve of the Vicksburg campaign, a former Douglass Democrat, he determined to conduct himself with dignity and circumspection to gain the confidence of the Northern commanders. This policy yielded rich dividends and an unexpected increment when in June, 1863, he was in a position to control one of Grant's intermittent drinking spells. "I then took the General in hand myself, enticed him into his stateroom, locked myself in the room with him . . . and commenced throwing bottles of whiskey . . . through the windows. . . ." From this time forward a warm intimacy developed between the two men; Cadwallader had an influential friend at court, Grant a steadfast watchdog. As a result the *Herald's* coverage of the Army of the Potomac was second to none. Cadwallader's reminiscences, not completed until 1896, rest on a file of the *New York Herald*, letters written to his wife during the war, and a retentive memory. The manuscript, never published before, was acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library and "not more than half-dozen living persons have read it." Superbly edited by Professor Thomas, with an illuminating introduction and valuable footnotes, the narrative moves swiftly through the war years. Grant's strategy is the central theme and the military talents of many Union officers: Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, Wallace, Thomas, Butler, Rawlins, Meade, and others are candidly portrayed. Grant is depicted by Cadwallader in every conceivable situation. While there is nothing startlingly new, his over-all judgment touches the revisionist configurations of such current authorities as T. Harry Williams, Bruce Catton, and Kenneth P. Williams at many points. The vignettes on Lincoln and Sheridan are especially graphic, while the surrender at Appomattox is handled with great sensitivity. Sidelights on the civilian's response to war and occupation add depth to the portrait.

The writing has a sense of timelessness and brings the period back into sharp focus. The admonition on the dust jacket that this is an "extremely entertaining" and "important" book is one which neither laymen nor scholars will contest.

FRANK W. KLINGBERG, *University of North Carolina*

SOLDIERS WITHOUT SWORDS: A HISTORY OF THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr.* (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. viii, 242, \$4.00.) This is the first systematic historical account of the Salvation Army in this country as part of an expanding international organization under rigid military authority. The crusading spirit of youthful pioneers, their vicissitudes and successes, their distinctive vocabulary, costumes, and organization, and the growth of national identification leading to personality clashes and structural schisms, are all depicted effectively. But the diversified and rapidly changing activities of the Army seem to be presented from a protagonist's viewpoint. Professor Wisbey says, for instance, "Jacob Riis . . . hammered at the public conscience; journalists 'exposed' the conditions of the slums; government officials 'investigated' them—but the Salvation Army went into the slums and really worked to make them better" (p. 102). This wholesale disparagement of other approaches takes no account of concurrent direct work in the slums, notably the university settlements which antedated this Salvationist activity by several years, both in England and in America, nor of thoughtful contemporary criticisms of it as inadequately staffed, unrelated to current economic and political trends, and so unreservedly sectarian as often to be self-defeating. Use of authorities is weak. Qualitative judgments on professional competence, especially in social work, too often are unsupported or rest only on Salvationist sources. The most substantial external study of the Army (Porter R. Lee and Walter W. Pettit, *Social Salvage: A Study of the Central Organization and Administration of the Salvation Army* [New York, 1924]), made for contributors after Army fund-raising had become national in scope, is mentioned in the bibliography as "important," but otherwise the only reference to it is an innocuous quotation attributed to "two investigators." No reference can be found in the text to the strictures the study contains. Social history, social work, and organized religion would all benefit from a more thorough study of the Salvation Army in relation to other institutions and the contemporary social climate.

RALPH E. PUMPHREY, *Fairfield, Connecticut*

VENTURE OF FAITH: THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY AND THE WOMAN'S AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY, 1814-1954. By *Robert G. Torbet.* Foreword by Jesse R. Wilson. (Philadelphia, Judson Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 634, \$6.00.) Dr. Torbet, who has already contributed a competent survey of his denomination in *A History of the Baptists* and a more specialized study, *A Social History of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, 1707-1940*, has added another labor of love, the official history of the foreign missions of his branch of the Baptists. He undertook the assignment at the request of the two societies concerned and had access to the files, printed and manuscript, of both bodies. The research and writing were accomplished in the interstices of an editor's crowded schedule. That the product is of high scholarly quality speaks for both the author's diligence and ability. The material has been gathered in part from unpublished manuscript sources but mostly from what is in print. The chief dependence has been upon reports, periodicals, and books, some of the latter by participants in what they record. Dr. Torbet places his story in the setting of developments in the world at large, in the countries in which the missionaries served, and in the Baptist churches. His approach is sympathetically objective. He is writing with the

multiple purpose of compiling in permanent form a comprehensive record which will summarize the problems, changing policies, reverses, and achievements of fourteen decades, of providing the background of experience for those who in the future will shape programs, and of informing the more thoughtful members of the constituency. The book is not propaganda. It is compact with information and will be read mainly by those who are more than casually interested. Large though it is, it has had to be compressed into one volume and cannot go into a more readable elaboration of its subject.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, *Yale University*

MONEY AT INTEREST: THE FARM MORTGAGE ON THE MIDDLE BORDER.

By *Allan G. Bogue*, State University of Iowa. (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1955, pp. x, 293, \$4.00.) *Money at Interest* is a monographic study of land credit based primarily on the surviving records of a New York investment family, and the J. B. Watkin's Mortgage Company, and is concerned with their activities during the latter part of the nineteenth century in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas. The implied aim of the author is to contribute to "our understanding of the role of land credit along the middle border," which he claims "has been perverted by the hysteria of the Populist era." He wants to establish a better balance by probing into the experiences of the mortgage companies, their managers, agents, and investors. The records of the land mortgage companies are indispensable in such an effort, and the author has gone through them diligently. In the process he has inquired into why the farmers borrowed, from whom, the business and unbusinesslike methods of the mortgage companies, the interest rates, the uses and the repayment of the borrowed money. I agree with the author that the lenders were not always the Shylocks they have been portrayed to be, but I am not as easily persuaded that historians have accepted the Shylock interpretation as is here intimated. Not only does the author overstate his case but he also presents material that would tend to show that the farmer had good reason for being suspicious of the mortgage company and its agents. The main title, *Money at Interest*, seems to be misleading since this study deals with only land credit. A study of the entire subject of farm credit, which in itself is narrow enough for a historian, would have placed the peculiar problems of land credit into sharper focus. An inquiry into the reasons why the national banks were prohibited from lending on farm mortgages, and the experiences of the state banks engaged in such operations, would also have been pertinent. Bogue is quite right in insisting that the story of credit will be incomplete until the side of the lender is told, which, in turn, will clear the air of some of the confusion that prevails when only the side of the borrower is presented. Though the subject is extremely difficult to write about, the narrative flows rather well. We may hope that this is merely the beginning instead of the end of a study worth doing. THEODORE SALOUTOS, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE AMERICAN LIFE CONVENTION: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF LIFE INSURANCE.

By *R. Carlyle Buley*. In two volumes. (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953, pp. xxx, 1397, \$15.00.) A major work from the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Old Northwest* should be good. This one is. The Elizur Wright Award, December, 1954, by the American Association of Teachers of Insurance is a well-deserved recognition. The central theme through a major portion of the volumes is the American Life Convention, largest of American and Canadian legal reserve insurance trade associations, organized after the famous Armstrong investigations. For this reason the work might be thought attractive only to those professionally connected with insurance. Actually it is essentially a history of all important phases of life insurance in America—the best to be found in a single study—traced from its

European origins to the present time. As such it is not only a commendable pioneering achievement in this vast field but also makes some distinctive additions to the spadework previously done. Examples are the careful treatment of such complicated problems as the regulation of life insurance companies together with the resulting struggles between state and federal governments; also conflicts over taxation. Worthy of special emphasis is the fact that this is the only work in English which traces the origin and development of preliminary term valuation. The numerous and complex problems of life insurance are portrayed at all stages in the contemporary setting of social, economic, and political conditions. In this descriptive ability Professor Buley is at his best, delineating with clear colors and decisive strokes. After reading the evidence it is easy to agree with the conclusion that life insurance as conducted in America has helped greatly in convincing a large portion of the population that "basic ethical principles are in the end most conducive to their welfare and happiness." Likely to be most debatable is the treatment accorded the 1930's. Dedicated New Dealers will derive scant comfort from the facts presented—presented withal in such engaging manner. Those who might feel the great eastern companies somewhat slighted will await with interest the author's forthcoming history of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. An incisive bibliographical note and an excellent analytical index add measurably to the usefulness of the volumes.

FRED W. WELLBORN, *University of Maryland*

THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT: PLANNING MUNITIONS FOR WAR. By *Constance McLaughlin Green, Harry C. Thomson, and Peter C. Roots*. [United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1955, pp. xviii, 542, \$4.25.) Here is an illuminating tale about weapons for a mechanized mass army which demonstrates the enormous technological differences between the armies of World War II and any previous armies. This volume gives a sober, factual, and detailed story of the Ordnance Department's work in providing such weapons. In itself this is not a lively or exciting story, and the controversial episodes, which might have served for human interest, are very properly subordinated to the important matters with historical significance. The layman may not easily comprehend much of the technical detail, but he would get an oversimplified and distorted impression of the multifarious, complex problems were the technical details omitted. The over-all picture of American weapons development begins with a peacetime period when comparatively little could be done because of limited funds, followed by a crisis in which funds were unlimited but time was in short supply and speed was imperative. Consequently we learn that development was often not fast enough to get the best types into the field before the war ended. Assuming continued improvement, many of the weapons described here may now be obsolete. It is useful for the ordinary reader to understand the complicated considerations necessary for balancing various irreconcilable mechanical features against each other. What has long been done in designing battleships must now be done for tanks and many other items of equipment. Military doctrines, often highly controversial, had to be decided by the fighting services before designing could begin. Then mass production for war had to be geared into an industrial system organized for peace. Materials had to be conserved. Men had to be trained to use complicated machines. Means had to be devised for getting matériel in usable condition to distant places with Arctic cold, desert heat, or tropical humidity. It is a story of great accomplishment to stir any American's pride.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL, *Williams College*

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1953. Edited by *Peter V. Curl*. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1954, pp. xxii, 458, \$5.00.)

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1953. By *Richard P. Stebbins* with the Assistance of *Grant S. McClellan*. Introduction by *Grayson Kirk*. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1955, pp. xiv, 512, \$5.00.) The plan of the Council on Foreign Relations for two closely correlated volumes for each year, one a documentary collection and the other a narrative, did not work out well for 1953, because of long delay in completion of the narrative volume, *The United States in World Affairs*, 1953. The preface to the *Documents* is dated June, 1954; that to the companion volume a year later. For this reason the cross-referencing of the two volumes is in one direction only; the narrative volume cites the documents but not vice versa. Thus the plan to make the narrative volume supply the place of the introductory and explanatory material that accompanied the documents prior to 1952 (see *AHR*, LIX, 1030) could not be carried out in this instance. Unlike the 1952 *Documents* volume, that for 1953 has an index. This certainly is an improvement. The chapters number eight as compared with seven for 1952. "The Korean Problem" gets a complete chapter, as does "The Moslem World and India." NATO, which had a chapter in 1952, this time is covered in fourteen pages of the chapter on "European Questions." Within the rather strictly political framework that characterizes this series under the new auspices, the documents seem well selected. *The United States in World Affairs*, 1953 surveys the developments of that year under seven chapter-headings: "New Era in Washington," "New Era in Moscow," "The United States and Western Europe," "Far Eastern Panorama," "The World Between," "The Shadow of the H-Bomb," and "December Harvest." There are the usual selected bibliography, chronology of world events, index, and maps and charts. Overshadowing other events of the year were the accession of Eisenhower to the United States Presidency, the death of Stalin, the end of the Korean War, and the announcement of the Soviet Union's success in producing a hydrogen bomb. The new administration in Washington, elected on a platform calling for a more aggressive foreign policy, especially in Asia, made a few gestures in that direction, such as the "unleashing" of Chiang K'ai-shek, but then settled down to a course of action not very different from that of the Democrats. Certainly the Korean armistice represented "containment" rather than "roll back," and the proposed resolutions repudiating the Yalta and other wartime agreements and offering hope to the "captive peoples" had to be set aside. Stalin's death and some wishful thinking consequent thereupon contributed to a slowdown in NATO rearmament. American participation in the slowdown was in line also with the new administration's pledges of economy. The economy platform, also, rather than the revelation of Russia's success with the H-bomb, was responsible for the "New Look" in defense policy. Indeed, if the momentous fact of Soviet competition in H-bomb production brought about any change in thinking on defense measures in the administration, such change was not revealed to the public. The volume is a useful survey of the reciprocal impact of the United States and world affairs upon each other during 1953. The tone is less pessimistic than in several earlier volumes, though the information presented contains little that is cheering to the West.

JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A HISTORY OF THE CUTLERY INDUSTRY IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY. By *Martha Van Hoesen Taber*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XLI.] (Northampton, Mass., Department of History of Smith College, 1955, pp. vi, 138, \$2.00.) Among the items brought by the New England settlers to this country were glassware, hardware, knives, and some fine textiles. Knives, because of the fineness of English cutlery, and being easy to transport, continued to be imported until near the mid-nineteenth century. Cutlers, knife-makers, were in demand, and enjoyed many special privileges. Blacksmiths became experienced in hammering out axes, adzes, and other agricultural implements, and "graduated" into the cutlery business. The cutlery industry, actually a group of industries, has had from its very beginning a continuous growth. Cutlery firms in the Connecticut Valley specialized in table and kitchen cutlery and in a miscellaneous group known as artisan's knives. By 1900 the industry was well established and produced almost every variety of cutting implements. During the years when the textile and shoe industries were leaving New England, small metal-fabricating businesses developed there. The plants left vacant by the exodus of certain industries were often taken over by cutlery manufacturers. Since World War II cutlery concerns have grown in size. The largest cutlery plant is not now in the Connecticut Valley, however, but in Providence, Rhode Island. While organized union labor has made some inroads, the cutlery workers in the Connecticut Valley remain largely unorganized. In 1947 Massachusetts had recaptured first place in cutlery and edge-tool production, accounting for 25 per cent of United States tools, as compared to 21 per cent in 1939. The author predicts that the cutlery industry in the Connecticut Valley will probably continue for many years to make its modest contribution to the prosperity of the region. JOHN W. OLIVER, *University of Pittsburgh*

A HISTORY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HOSPITAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY. By *Gerald T. White*, Associate Professor of History, San Francisco State College. [Harvard Studies in Business History, XIX.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 229, \$5.00.) The Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company was chartered in 1818 and given a monopoly of the life insurance business in the commonwealth; one third of the profits from this business were to go to the Massachusetts General Hospital. From almost the beginning (1823), however, the company was a trust company rather than a life insurance company, motivated largely by the

desire to take care of the funds of widows, children, clergymen, teachers, and charitable organizations supposedly not capable of managing their own. Since the funds were pooled—capital stock, deposits, insurance premiums, etc.—the depositor was made a co-adventurer with the stockholder. Investments were largely in mortgages, though the company made many loans to merchants and later to New England textile firms. Since investments were conservative, management cautious as well as capable, and deposits stable, the Massachusetts Hospital Life was little affected by the depressions beginning in 1837, 1873, and 1893. As the charitable motive waned and aggressive competition was met from the mutual life insurance companies, savings banks, and trust companies, the importance of the Massachusetts Hospital Life declined. After the depression of the 1930's, when it was caught with too much Boston real estate, the company was gradually reorganized as a modern investment company but with a difference: it has both stockholders and certificate holders—the latter only being direct beneficiaries of the fund—and is corporate trustee of its own funds. The history of the Massachusetts Hospital Life is significant as a study of the evolution of trust and investment processes in the United States, and Professor White has done an excellent piece of work in its presentation. He was fortunate in having adequate records for the whole sweep of the company's history. Enough has been written, and clearly, to give an idea not only of policies and interrelationships with the general economy but also of personnel. There are tables, appendixes, and excellent documentation. In the reviewer's mind this study further bolsters the conviction that "prudent men" with consciences can, in the management of money and property, take care of almost all contingencies except a deteriorating monetary unit, and that even this they can deal with better than the average man.

R. CARLYLE BULEY, *Indiana University*

MERCHANTS, FARMERS, AND RAILROADS: RAILROAD REGULATION AND NEW YORK POLITICS, 1850-1887. By *Lee Benson*. [Studies in Economic History Published in Coöperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 310, \$5.50.) Lee Benson presents in this study of New York pressure politics a decided reaction against the tendency of historians for several years to emphasize the role of western farmers in forwarding the regulation of railroads up to 1887. Recognizing that regulatory legislation was the result of conflicts between interest groups, the author nevertheless gives detailed support to the idea that the merchants of New York City took the leading part in urging the elimination of discriminatory actions by railroads. After examining early attempts to regulate the carriers and the impact of transportation changes on the merchants of New York City after the Civil War, Mr. Benson notes the initial abortive efforts of farmers, merchants, and railroaders to reach a solution satisfactory to all interests. In his analysis, merchants were prominent in the searching investigation by the Hepburn Committee and later led in organizing active groups pressing for state and federal regulation. Significant, though not the only, instruments for expounding the New York mercantile point of view were the Board of Trade and Transportation and the Anti-Monopoly League. Outstanding among the crusading merchants was Francis Beatty Thurber, and the second major figure was Simon Sterne, whose contribution to the phraseology of the act of 1887 is stressed by the author. Never again will historians be able to disregard the merchant as a figure of importance in the origins of railroad regulation. Perhaps it would be no more than fair to expect that, in a counterbalancing work of this kind, the author should give too much weight to his new concept. Mr. Benson has overstated his case. Mercantile activities have received much more attention in this book than those of farmers. Attitudes of manufacturers are scarcely mentioned. In connection with the national scene he has accorded insufficient

weight to the demands of various groups all over the country as revealed in the report of the Cullom Committee. More careful editing and rewriting would have improved some sentences and paragraphs, provided more coherence in some chapters, and resulted in better balance in the book as a whole. Because the writing is so tight and some allusions are difficult to understand, presumably as a result of drastic pruning of the original manuscript, the labor of the reader is rather heavy. Nevertheless, Mr. Benson has produced a significant book which should stimulate other scholars to investigate the attitudes of merchants and manufacturers in other seaboard cities, not to mention those in key cities and towns in the interior of the country.

RALPH W. HIX, *New York University*

COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA. By *Kenneth Scott*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 132.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1955, pp. xi, 168, \$4.00.) Like the author's previous work on counterfeiting in New York, this is a narrative of crimes and court proceedings taken from newspapers and official documents. The book was written for antiquarians, and, unless one has such an interest, it is pretty dull reading. Nonetheless, it does have value for the historian. Considered as source material, the book offers a considerable amount of rather rich sociological detail relative to crime and criminals in colonial society, especially when read in conjunction with the earlier study of New York. One suspects that there is much more in this sort of material than the author chooses to make of it and that in the hands of a social historian it could be the basis of a significant work.

E. JAMES FERGUSON, *University of Maryland*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

CALENDAR OF MARYLAND STATE PAPERS. Number 4, Part 3, THE RED BOOKS. (Annapolis, Hall of Records Commission, 1955, pp. x, 314.) This volume completes the calendar of the Red Books, the largest group among the "Rainbow Series," which are a prime treasure of the state archives. It represents a wide variety of papers, chiefly military, dated from 1748 to 1825 but concentrated in the years 1778 to 1781. Typical subjects are supplies, recruitment, legislative actions, and finances.

The calendar is a model in perfection of detail and is clearly numbered and indexed. Major credit for the whole project goes to Archivist and Records Administrator Morris L. Radoff and Senior Archivist Roger Thomas.

PHILIP C. BROOKS, *Federal Records Center, San Francisco*

THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1742-JANUARY 27, 1744. Edited by J. H. Easterby. [The Colonial Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia, South Carolina Archives Department, 1954, pp. xi, 607, \$12.50.) This is the fourth volume in the series of official records of the colony and state of South Carolina projected by Dr. Easterby, with priority given to the colonial period. His point that "the journals of the elective branch of the legislature are central to the study of all other records" is well taken; four volumes have carried the record from 1736 to January, 1744. Dr. Easterby's reputation for meticulous editing is already well established. In the transcription of the original text the printed version has been freed from the peculiarities of eighteenth-century manuscript style which serve little purpose in being reproduced in identical form. There are no footnotes; the text speaks for itself. If the editor seems unduly self-effacing in this respect, his scholarly service should not be minimized. Unlike the previous volume, containing the fascinating "Report of . . . the Late Expedition against St. Augustine" of 1740, which has been separately reprinted, the assembly sessions of 1742-1744 were concerned with matters of routine nature. At least they seem routine historically, although measures of defense against the Spaniards and the French arose out of a serious threat to the province. But "routine" documentary records hold much high-grade ore for those historians who know how to extract the metal and use it. Here is the assembly asserting that it should have the exclusive "modelling" of bills for levying taxes; finding the king's rent rolls defective and demanding that all land grants made since South Carolina became a royal colony be checked; running afoul of the upper house over the selection of the public treasurer and getting its own man into office. Economic aspects of the racial problem are reflected in opposition of white shipwrights to Negro artisans, in discouragement of white immigration because of the predominance of slave labor, and in the fear of Negro insurrection. We find several inventors seeking patents for labor-saving devices; we glimpse the rudiments of the postal service, and survey the widespread public interest in the report of a silver mine in the Indian country. The wide variety of detail in the *Journal* is well analyzed in the index, which also lists chronologically by title all of the acts, bills, messages, ordinances, petitions, reports, and resolutions.

LESTER J. CAPPON, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, FEBRUARY 20, 1744-MAY 25, 1745. Edited by J. H. Easterby. [The Colonial Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia, South Carolina Archives Department, 1955, pp. xi, 626, \$12.50.) Every student of American history should be familiar with the publication program of the state of South Carolina, for its extent, importance, and superior quality set it apart as one of the most significant of such undertakings in recent years. This volume of "Colonial Records" is the fifth to appear in the invaluable series on the Commons House *Journals* which will, in time, be supplemented by other official records. The volume shows, as did its predecessors, the procedures followed by the South Carolina assembly in conducting its affairs and reveals unmistakably the cumulative experience of self-government. The legislative record for the years 1744-1745 also re-emphasizes the overwhelming concern of the assembly in the internal affairs of the colony rather than in external developments. Within the general category of "domestic" legislation,

the extent of what today would be labeled "social and economic legislation" is especially striking. There are bills to regulate indentures, to regulate the practice of "physic," to encourage selected industries, and to prevent frauds in business relationships—to name only a few. Such legislation, together with important enactments on internal improvements, on changes within the government itself, and on meeting the needs of the crown makes up an impressive total. As the editor notes, twenty-nine bills were passed in fifteen months—many more were considered, of course—an astonishing accomplishment for any legislature irrespective of time or place. It should be remembered that these assembly *Journals*, essential as they are, cannot stand alone. Seldom are votes recorded; and when they are, there is no breakdown. Although an investigator can find some leads, he is hard pressed to analyze divisions among the delegates on an issue, for debates are not recorded and a statement of differences is rarely found. The quality of Dr. Easterby's editorial work is superb. The index continues to be an outstanding feature of these volumes, especially such aids as the listing of bills, reports, messages, and petitions in such a way that their legislative development can be traced with ease throughout the volume. This painstaking care in the publication of the "South Carolina Colonial Records" helps to make them indispensable for scholars today and tomorrow.

CLARENCE L. VER STEEG, *Northwestern University*

LINCOLN AND THE BLUEGRASS: SLAVERY AND CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY. By *William H. Townsend*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 392, \$6.50.) In 1929 Mr. Townsend published *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town*, in which he assembled incidents connecting the martyred President with Lexington, Kentucky. In the present work he has covered substantially the same ground with the same general theme but has expanded his Lincoln contacts with the Bluegrass. Lexington was the only part of the slaveholding South which Lincoln knew well, asserts the author, and therefore it was important in shaping his opinions about slavery. Visiting his in-laws and subscribing to a Lexington newspaper taught Lincoln about the political views of Henry Clay, the "trusted Negro mammies and the julep-mixing valets," and also about the whipping post, slave jails, and slave auctions. In searching out the connecting links between Lincoln and the Bluegrass the author has uncovered a mass of little-known material. Mr. Townsend is a master story-teller, and his book is replete with yarns about the Kentuckians, important or not, who were touched by Lincoln's career. The book contains little that is new and important, for its author unfortunately prefers the anecdotal to the analytical approach to the past. There is, for example, no contribution to the problem of the border states, such as suggested in E. C. Smith's *The Borderland in the Civil War*, nor any attempt to measure the effect of the Bluegrass upon Lincoln or to show that his visits there, rather than to New Orleans, had the greater influence upon him. And despite the invaluable Kentucky material in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, the author has not made use of it. But his main problem is to justify his concluding remark that "Abraham Lincoln once was a familiar figure in the Bluegrass of his native Kentucky." His evidence points rather to a different conclusion.

DAVID L. SMILEY, *Wake Forest College*

RAILROADS OF THE SOUTH, 1865-1900: A STUDY IN FINANCE AND CONTROL. By *John F. Stover*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 310, \$5.00.) Professor Stover's book represents the first real effort of a historian to give a comprehensive picture of the evolution of the southern railroad systems. The author has amassed a great volume of information, which he has pre-

sented in an orderly manner, and has produced a book that will be useful in giving orientation to students entering the complex field of southern railroad history. Eight helpful maps are included. The book does not deal with commerce, competition, or railroad management and operation. It deals only with railroads over a hundred miles long. Between 1865 and 1900 control of southern railroads gradually shifted from southern to northern hands, contends Stover, and he makes this subject the main theme of his book. Tracing the change through several stages of development, he presents several sets of elaborate computations and fully makes his point. He leaves us wondering, however, how much of the change grew out of conditions peculiar to the South and how much, on the other hand, was a mere part of the development of finance capitalism in the nation. Professor Stover has undertaken a large task, and it is understandable that, despite an obviously great labor, he has covered much of his ground rather thinly. Apparently appreciating this weakness, he has by thorough documentation provided tangible aid to those who would push investigation further. Despite an extensive bibliography of primary materials, the broad scope of the work has required a heavy reliance upon secondary sources and upon *Poor's Manual of the Railroads* and the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. The records of the railroads themselves, except in the case of the Illinois Central, do not appear to have been extensively or effectively used. Strangely missing from the bibliography of secondary works are those of Ethel Armes, James H. Lemly, S. Walter Martin, Joseph Lambie, John Leeds Kerr, and Joseph G. Kerr, and numerous articles in southern state historical periodicals. Although it has some shortcomings, the Stover volume may be welcomed as a valuable contribution to railroad literature. Let us hope that it will encourage others, and Stover himself, to do more specialized work in the field.

JAMES F. DOSTER, *University of Alabama*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

BLACK HAWK: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Edited by *Donald Jackson*. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1955, pp. 206, \$3.75.) Is Black Hawk's *Autobiography* a hoax? Some critics have thought so. "Despite the intrusive hands of interpreter and editor," says Mr. Jackson, it "is basically a tale told by an Indian from an Indian point of view." Scholars will be happy to learn that the present text is a literal reprint not of the 1882 but of the 1833 edition, which appeared soon after the needless and bloody Black Hawk War. Mr. Jackson's introduction is well written. Most of his notes are adequate, some unusually complete. Design, type, illustrations, and end papers give the book distinction.

HOLMAN HAMILTON, *University of Kentucky*

COMANCHE BONDAGE: DR. JOHN CHARLES BEALES'S SETTLEMENT OF LA VILLA DE DOLORES ON LAS MORAS CREEK IN SOUTHERN TEXAS OF THE 1830's, WITH AN ANNOTATED REPRINT OF SARAH ANN HORN'S NARRATIVE OF HER CAPTIVITY AMONG THE COMANCHES, HER RANSOM BY TRADERS IN NEW MEXICO, AND RETURN VIA THE SANTA FE TRAIL. By *Carl Coke Rister*. (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1955, pp. 210, \$7.50.) In the mad whirl of the colonization of Mexican Texas, John Charles Beales, an Englishman by birth but a naturalized Mexican citizen, came to be possessed, by 1832, of colonial grants covering perhaps eighty million acres, calling for the introduction of at least eight hundred colonists. Late in 1833 the *Amos Wright* sailed from New York City with fifty-nine persons (English, German, and American), the vanguard of Beales's colonists, who were to settle in the Rio Grande valley and found the town of Dolores. The site selected was in present southwestern Texas, semiarid and subject to Indian attack. The settlers did reach the "Promised Land," but mismanagement, problems of aridity, and customary frontier limitations doomed the settlement to failure before Santa Anna's invasion, in connection with the Texas Revolution, brought a final dispersal of settlers. Using all known sources, the author has told the story of the rise and fall of Dolores as the introduction to reprinting with annotations Sarah Ann Horn's narrative of her captivity among the Comanches. Mrs. Horn was a colonist at Dolores who was taken by the Comanches in the final dispersal of the colonists. Her 1839 account of captivity and suffering reveals well the manners, morals, and customs of that plains tribe and is definitely rare Americana. Rister's work and arrangement make available to historians the frontier colonization story of Dolores in its most complete form to date. The volume was published posthumously and

marks the end of the career of the most productive modern writer of scholarly history of the Southwest.

H. BAILEY CARROLL, *University of Texas*

THE NEZ PERCÉS: TRIBESMEN OF THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU. By *Francis Haines*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, No. 42.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 329, \$5.00.) The University of Oklahoma Press is to be complimented for publishing in such excellent format this comprehensive history of the Nez Percés. Another narrative of these people by Francis Haines appeared in Portland, Oregon, in 1939, under the title *Red Eagles of the Northwest*. While this latest account is substantially the same as the first, the text has been improved and gives evidence of later research. The story of these exceptional Indians is carried down to 1895 and the breakup of their tribal reservation. Their transformation from a sedentary fishing tribe to a buffalo-hunting people took them on annual trips away from their homeland in central Idaho to the plains of Montana. Perhaps their most notable accomplishment was their development of the famous spotted horse, the Appaloosa, which became a chief article of trade with eastern tribes. The Lewis and Clark expedition so stimulated their religious curiosity that in 1831 they sent a delegation to St. Louis asking for Christian missionaries, who became the vanguard of Americans into Oregon territory. An intelligent and comparatively peaceful people, they were driven to war with the whites in 1878, and the story of their magnificent and well-ordered retreat from Oregon almost to the Canadian border in Montana is well told by Mr. Haines. Without diminishing in the least the greatness of Chief Joseph, the author does place him in proper perspective with the other great military leaders of the war, Chiefs Looking Glass, Toohoolhoolzote, and others. The use of a bibliographical essay for a discussion of materials used is a most welcome addition, although there is a notable omission of a few important sources such as the *Idaho Statesman* and the journals and letters of Major John Owen. With that exception and a note of regret over a rather indifferent index, the reader of this well-written volume is carried along with sustained interest in the story of a great Indian tribe.

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN, *Salt Lake City, Utah*

THE AMERICAN COWBOY: THE MYTH AND THE REALITY. By *Joe B. Frantz* and *Julian Ernest Choate, Jr.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 232, \$3.75.) In this "sort of hand book" the authors, in an attempt to separate fact from fancy, scrutinize the cowboy and the literature pertaining to him. They "dissect" this great American folk hero on three levels—historical, fictional, and folklore—and purport to place him "in proper perspective." On the historical level, which gives the impetus for the other two, they divulge the well-established facts in western lore, such as the myth of the great American desert, Texas as the cradle of the live-stock industry, and Abilene, Kansas, the first cowtown. The same revelatory vein follows the hero on the trail, the range, and the ranch. Succeeding chapters, dealing with "The Myth," "The Lawless," and "The Range Wars," assemble evidence to prove that the oft-told tales about the cowboy are not true, and that the historian, novelist, and sentimentalist are all guilty of perpetuating such exaggerative legends. The remaining four chapters are devoted to an examination and critique of the literature prior to, and after, 1900, and differ from other such studies only in the deference shown to particular authors. In the opinion of this reviewer, the lusty and manly character of the cowboy does not lend itself to the chatty tête-à-tête style employed by the authors. Since they, seemingly, failed to find the essence, imagination, and artistry which they sought, one wonders whether their cunning remarks and innumerable parenthetical asides contribute to the literature on the subject. In

addition the authors, endeavoring to separate obvious myth from reality, failed to scrutinize carefully the illustrations used, which, however, are superior in their artistic quality. On the whole this book is a rather neat bow to the sacred cows of western literature, but to the reviewer, who eagerly looked forward to its appearance, it is a disappointment. CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER, *University of Arkansas*

TRAILING THE COWBOY: HIS LIFE AND LORE AS TOLD BY FRONTIER JOURNALISTS. Compiled and Edited by *Clifford P. Westermeyer*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1955, pp. 414, \$5.00.) Among all the sons of the Great West none, except the American Indian, has so caught the fancy of the reading public as has the cowboy. This attractive and interesting book seeks to portray this "hired man on horseback" as seen by those who should have known him best—the contemporary writers for frontier newspapers and magazines. With the exception of brief comments introducing each chapter and each of the articles composing them, the author himself makes little attempt to describe the cowhand, or his life and work. He leaves this to the writers themselves. His selections, however, have been chosen with great care and from them the discriminating reader will see emerge a picture of the American cowboy as he was in the years when the range cattle industry was at the zenith of its importance. Obviously, there was never any such thing as a typical cowboy. Climate, topography, range conditions, and remoteness from thickly settled areas all affected the life, work, and play of the man who engaged in ranching and to some extent affected the formation of traits of character of the man himself. Yet these range riders had many characteristics in common and these are described in the first of the eleven chapters. Succeeding chapters deal with the cowboy's daily work, his disregard of law, the foes he must face, the rare trips to town, and his spiritual faith. These are followed by chapters on his songs and stories, the social life and sports in which he participated, and the rapid decline of the cattle business and virtual disappearance of the old-time cowboy. A brief epilogue concludes the volume. An attractive illustration at the beginning of each chapter adds interest and there is an excellent bibliography and an adequate index. This book is a valuable contribution to the history of the range cattle industry.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

A MORMON CHRONICLE: THE DIARIES OF JOHN D. LEE, 1848-1876. In two volumes. Edited and Annotated by *Robert Glass Cleland* and *Juanita Brooks*. (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1955, pp. xxvi, 344; 480, \$15.00 the set.) These diaries depict in detail the activities and life of John D. Lee, a Mormon pioneer, one of the staunch supporters of Brigham Young, and a leader in colonizing efforts in southern Utah and the Grand Canyon country. They provide background material illustrating how the author became to some extent the scapegoat for the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre. The first entry in "Diary One" is dated February 29, 1848, seven months after the last entry in the *Diary of John D. Lee*, published by Charles Kelly in 1938. The last entry bears the date August 17, 1849. There are five diaries in all. The other four cover the dates: December 27, 1859-June 14, 1861, May 23-June 24, 1873, June 25, 1873-April 8, 1874, and August 9, 1874-July 23, 1875. This reviewer concurs with the editors that the diaries "Enable one to gain an understanding, otherwise unobtainable, of the activities, character, and psychology of one of the most arresting and polemic figures in western history. They make a contribution to our knowledge of the western frontier and to the intensely dramatic story of the Mormon settlement of Utah. . . . They reveal in fascinating clarity and detail the every day life of the pioneer settlers of Utah; and they describe in unique fashion

the privations, dangers, quarrels, bickerings, intense convictions, bitter animosities, heroic undertakings and noble achievements of a people who conquered the wilderness because of their loyalty and devotion to a faith."

W. J. McNIFF, *Miami University*

NORTHWEST EXPLORATIONS. By *Gordon Speck*. Edited by *L. K. Phillips*. (Portland, Ore., Binford and Mort, 1954, pp. 394, \$4.00.) This book has two parts: Pacific Northwest exploration by sea and exploration by land. Each of about twenty-five major expeditions is accorded a separate chapter, but chapters vary in length from one page allotted to Francisco de Gali to twenty-seven given Lewis and Clark. While having the virtue of simplicity, this name-by-name treatment has impeded adequate integration of subject matter. The factual material contained here is elsewhere available in print. The book was presumably designed to provide condensed collateral reading for students of about college freshman level. With this aim in mind the author has extracted the juiciest bits of human interest materials from the larger published histories and journals of the respective explorers. Even though he makes no pretense of presenting a scholarly treatise for the expert, it would seem that his intended audience might be entitled to those scholarly trimmings least likely to mar a maximum enjoyment of the book. For example, it would have been no disadvantage to have cited uniformly the first, or at least the most scholarly, edition of all the major explorers' works rather than to present, as he does, an indifferently selected list. And since the bibliographical references are confined to titles in English, Henry R. Wagner's *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* is a conspicuous omission. Typographical errors are not numerous, but "Cortz," "Hudsons Bay," and "Budson Bay Company" are among those which might have been eliminated. The book contains numerous reproductions of contemporary maps, sketches, and portraits, but a listing of them is omitted from the table of contents. One wonders what the editor has contributed. It is this reviewer's opinion that the author's primary object in writing this book, namely, to give "a fresh interpretation to the early history of the region," has failed of achievement. A reader looking for a fresh interpretation would find Bernard DeVoto's *The Course of Empire* a less extended but more rewarding treatment of the major aspects of Northwest exploration.

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER, *Indiana University*

WHOOOP-UP COUNTRY: THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN WEST, 1865-1885. By *Paul F. Sharp*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 347, \$5.00.) Professor Sharp is not the first to travel the Whoop-Up Trail (from Fort Benton to Fort McCleod), but in many ways his journey is the most rewarding because he took with him the broad approach of Canadian-American parallelism. The author analyzed the attitudes and institutions of Montana, Alberta, and Saskatchewan to disclose the differences which evolved among people in a basically similar region. He points out that in the early days of settlement the area serviced by the rowdy, Missouri River town of Fort Benton knew nothing of nationality. Neither Indian nor whisky trader paid heed to boundaries. While the Canadians did not expand into the Northwest, held back as they were by the Pre-Cambrian Shield, American Civil War veterans and Irish immigrants made the region a wild west. A change came in 1875 when the Canadian Mounted Police entered the region to awe both the Indians and the traders. After this the pattern of civilization was set. The Montana frontier became one which aped the political and economic standards of the Gilded Age while that in Alberta and Saskatchewan was a closely guarded reserve which Americans poached and coveted. Thus while Fort Benton enjoyed the excitement and vicissitudes

of land and railroad speculation, the cattle boom, the river trade, and the dream of greatness, the other end of the Whoop-Up Trail never knew a wild west except in the realm of Indian affairs, Sitting Bull and the Sioux causing diplomatic as well as frontier tensions. In abandoning somewhat his regional analysis to the expansionist feeling in the United States, the author further documents the fact that almost no local annexationist feeling existed in Montana to compare with that in Minnesota, which was urged on by eastern capital. In singling out such special areas for comparison as business activity, Indian policy, frontier justice and law enforcement, diplomacy and agriculture, the author avoided a ponderous detail-laden work and presented a brief, lucid narrative in a form which might be termed a series of essays. The footnotes indicate that extensive use has been made of both the Canadian and American press, archives, travel accounts, business records, and personal correspondence. There is no formal bibliography in what is otherwise a well-made and well-illustrated book. It might be well to point out that the author takes issue with Webb's "Great Plains" thesis (p. 101). He apparently, as well, disapproves of the safety-valve frontier hypothesis yet does not explain the presence of the Irish in the Whoop-Up Country except perhaps inferentially as Civil War veterans (pp. 181-82).

A. P. NASATIR, *San Diego State College*

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Latin-American History

Rollie E. Poppino¹

GENERAL

The following new periodicals have recently appeared: *Historia* (Bogotá), I, no. 1, Jan., 1955, published by the Instituto Colombiano de Estudios Históricos; *Panorama* (Lima), I, no. 1, Apr.-May, 1954; *Sagitario*, *Revista trimestral de humanidades* (Buenos Aires), I, no. 1, Jan.-Mar., 1955.

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- VICTOR FRANKL. El concepto de justicia en las encíclicas papales y su aplicación en Latinoamérica [Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno]. *Rev. Univ. Buenos Aires*, July-Sept., 1953.
- JOHN J. JOHNSON. The New Latin America and the United States. *Pacific Spectator*, Summer, 1955.
- FRANCISCO MORALES PADRÓN. La independencia de América en sus actas. *Estud. americanos* (Sevilla), Aug., 1955.
- NÉSTOR PUERTAS CASTIO. Consideraciones sobre la historia integral del Perú. *Panorama* (Lima), Apr.-May, 1954.
- ADOLFO VARNHAGEN. L'asile dans les ambassades. [A previously unpublished MS written in 1870. Printed in French and in Portuguese.] *Anhembi* (São Paulo), July, 1955.

INDEXES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ARCHIVE GUIDES

- E. J. BURRUS, S.J. An Introduction to Bibliographical Tools in Spanish Archives and Manuscript Collections Relating to Hispanic America. *Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev.*, Nov., 1955.
- FR. LINO GALINDO, O.F.M. Reales cedulares del Nuevo Reino de Granada que se conservan en el museo británico. *Bol. hist. y antig.* (Bogotá), Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- LUÍS LEAL. El libro XII de Sahagún. *Hist. mexicana* (México, D. F.), Oct.-Dec., 1955.
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¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

- Índice de la Revista de la Universidad de Cuenca [1890-1955]. *Rev. Univ. de Cuenca*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- DANIEL VALCARCEL. Biblioteca y hemeroteca de la Sociedad Peruana de Historia. *Inter-Am. Rev. Bibliog.*, Jan.-June, 1955.
- JULIAN A. VILARDI. Las "noticias" de 1825 [presented by Rivadavia to the British government]. *Ibid.*
- NORBERTO RODRÍGUEZ BUSTAMANTE. Historiografía y política; a propósito de la "Historia de la Argentina" de Ernesto Palacio. *Imago mundi* (Buenos Aires), June, 1955.

COLONIAL PERIOD

- EL CONQUISTADOR FRANCISCO DE AGUIRRE. By *Luis Silva Lezaeta*. (New ed.; Santiago de Chile, Fondo historico y bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1953, pp. xv, 489.)
- EL CONQUISTADOR FRANCISCO DE AGUIRRE: COMENTARIOS Y COMPLEMENTOS AL LIBRO DEL PBRO. LUIS SILVA LEZAETA. By *Ernesto Greve*. (Santiago de Chile, Fondo historico y bibliográfico J. T. Medina, 1953, pp. 204.) The first volume is a new edition of Luis Silva Lezaeta's work on Aguirre published early in this century. It covers Aguirre's career in Spain, Italy, and Peru, before he took part in the conquest of Chile under Pedro de Valdivia. Aguirre is followed on his various campaigns and administrative enterprises, such as the founding of La Serena and the governing of Tucumán, where his enemies fought his control by charging him with heresy. His was one of various examples of employment of the Inquisition for purely political purposes; after long and arduous service in the conquest he suffered a lengthy imprisonment and humiliation at the hands of his opponents. The author stoutly defends him against the charges brought by his enemies. The second volume, that of Ernesto Greve, is a chapter-by-chapter commentary on Silva Lezaeta's work. Greve discusses the sources useful for the study of Aguirre's life, including those not available to Silva Lezaeta, and corrects certain errors in the earlier work. He discusses in detail various aspects of the conquest mentioned by Silva Lezaeta, such as the difference between the *yanacunas* and Indians held under the encomienda. The republishing of Silva Lezaeta's volume, together with Greve's commentary, makes available sound scholarship on the life of one of the important but little-known figures of early Chilean history. In this regard, however, one question arises. Commendable as these projects are—that of republishing an earlier study and bringing it up to date by a second volume—would it not be better to have a completely integrated and fresh study of the life of Aguirre?

DONALD E. WORCESTER, *University of Florida*

- THE COINAGE OF THE FIRST MINT OF THE AMERICAS AT MEXICO CITY, 1536-1572. By *Robert I. Nesmith*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 131.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1955, pp. vii, 139, 13 plates, \$5.00.) The first forty-six pages of this work contain a brief introduction followed by four chapters entitled "The Foundation of the Mexico City Mint," "Mint Officials and Workers," "Mint Techniques: Die Making and Coining," and "The Silver and Copper Coinage; Metrology." The text is followed by a catalogue (pp. 47-134), with good explanatory notes and illustrations showing use and placement of punches, design varieties, etc. This is followed by an appendix (the royal decree establishing the mint) and the thirteen plates. This book is a worth-while beginning in an important and complicated aspect of Mexican colonial history. Unfortunately (especially for the historian) there are still many gaps in knowledge of the period and subject, and the textual part of this work reflects some of this weakness.

PHILIP W. POWELL, *University of California, Santa Barbara College*

ARTICLES

- LUÍS FELIPE GÁLVEZ. Los orígenes de la cultura en el antiguo Perú. *Estud. americanos* (Sevilla), July, 1955.
- LUÍS E. VALCARCEL. La cultura antigua del Perú. *Fanal* (Lima), no. 42, 1955. [All the articles in this issue deal with pre-Columbian Peru.]
- JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. Los catalanes en la conquista de América. *Rev. estud. hispan.* (Mendoza), I, 1954.
- SIGFRIDO A. RADAELLI. La institución virreinal en las Indias. *Rev. Inst. de hist. derecho* (Buenos Aires), no. 6, 1954.
- MARIO HERNÁNDEZ Y SÁNCHEZ-BARBA. La población hispanoamericana y su distribución social en el siglo XVIII. *Rev. estud. políticos* (Madrid), Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- JOHN H. PARRY. Plantation and Provision Ground—An Historical Sketch of the Introduction of Food Crops into Jamaica. *Historia de América* (México, D. F.), June, 1955. [This volume contains three articles on the British Caribbean.]
- ALBERTO MARÍA CARREÑO. Salamanca en la cultura de México. *Mem. Acad. mexicana hist.* (México, D. F.), Apr.-June, 1955.
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- DOLORES BONET DE SOTILLO. El tráfico ilegal en las colonias españolas. *Cultura univ.* (Caracas), Mar.-June, 1955.
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- VICENTE OSVALDO CUTOLO. La primera obra de derecho escrita en la Argentina del siglo XVII. *Rev. Inst. de hist. derecho* (Buenos Aires), no. 6, 1954.
- CÉSAR P. ZONI. El poderío naval guaraní y los primeros combates navales sudamericanos. *Bol. Centro naval* (Buenos Aires), July-Aug., 1955.
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- Llega a la provincia una cargazón de negros [1787]. *Bol. Arch. gen. de la nac.* (Caracas), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- HERNANDO GUTIÉRREZ LUZARDO. Informes sobre un proyecto de invasión a las costas de Nueva Granada [por Francisco Miranda, 1786]. *Historia* (Bogotá), Jan., 1955.
- Breve descripción de la provincia de Quito . . . en el año 1740, por el P. Juan Magnin [S.J.]. *Bol. Acad. nac. hist.* (Quito), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- De los procesos seguidos contra los patriotas del 10 de agosto de 1809. *Museo hist.* (Quito), no. 21, May, 1955.

NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

INDEPENDENT MEXICO IN DOCUMENTS: INDEPENDENCE, EMPIRE, AND REPUBLIC. A Calendar of the Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos Manuscript Collection, the University of Texas Library. By Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, University of Texas, and Jack Autrey Dabbs, A. & M. College of Texas. (Mexico, D. F., Editorial Jus;

distrib. by Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, 1954, pp. xv, 604.) The Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos manuscript collection on which Carlos Castañeda and Jack Dabbs have lavished a labor of love by compilation of this useful calendar is indeed a remarkable and important group of materials. The editor of the six-volume *Colección de documentos para la Guerra de Independencia de México de 1808 a 1821* (1877-82) over his lifetime (1827-93) single-mindedly gathered some seventy-five volumes of documents on Mexican independence, acquired by the University of Texas in 1943. Among the approximately 3,000 items are letters from most of the insurgent leaders, records of trials, eyewitness descriptions of battles, military service records, administrative orders, the archive of General José de la Cruz and many papers of José Mariano Michelena. Bustamente's results from gathering first-hand data by questionnaires to living participants in revolutionary efforts similarly are here preserved. Although there are scattered items before 1797 and a few post-1840 entries, the great bulk centers on Mexico twenty years before and after its independence in 1821. In short, although the history of Mexican independence cannot be written solely from the Hernández Collection, neither can its materials be overlooked by the serious investigator. The compilers of the calendar have created a useful tool of scholarship. Introductory material describes the collection, gives data on Hernández y Dávalos, and outlines the complex classification employed for the calendar. A full index of persons, places, and topics is especially detailed. The text is admirably clear; entries provide full data, including location of printed versions of documents listed. This is a commendable production.

HOWARD F. CLINE, *Library of Congress*

MEXICO AND THE SPANISH REPUBLICANS. By *Lois Elwyn Smith*. [University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume IV, No. 2.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, pp. 165-315. \$1.75.) During the Spanish Civil War the Mexican government consistently rendered the fullest material and diplomatic support to the Republic. Refusing to recognize the unneutral Non-Intervention Committee or to grant belligerent status to Franco, it sold arms to the Republican government throughout the war. In 1939 and thereafter, Mexico accepted thousands of Spanish refugees as immigrants, cared for thousands of others in French camps which she subsidized, and through her diplomatic representatives to the Vichy government did everything in her power to protect the refugees from Nazi and Franquist reprisals. Since 1945 she has continued to recognize the government in exile. Mrs. Smith tells the story in considerable detail from 1936 through 1952. Her accounts of the aid to refugees in occupied France and of Mexico's generous immigration policies are particularly illuminating. She deals also with political divisions within the exile group, basing her account largely on personal interviews and newspaper citations. While she offers occasional judgments of the possible bias and credibility of these sources, the lack of a critical bibliography increases the reader's difficulty—always considerable where books on the Spanish Civil War are concerned—in deciding what reservations to make in regard to conflicting versions of the same events. The author herself is extremely cautious about rendering judgment. Regarding the roles of the Negrín-supported and the Prieto-supported refugee agencies, she includes the several theories which have been advanced on behalf of each group without attempting to judge between them. What emerges most clearly from her study is the immense generosity of Mexico, the determination of Cárdenas to aid the Republic and the refugees to the limit that Mexican opinion would permit, and the positive contribution of the refugees to the economic and cultural life of Mexico.

GABRIEL JACKSON, *Wellesley College*

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- JOSÉ BRAVO UGARTE, S.J. Independencia de las Provincias Unidas del Centro de América y adhesión definitiva de Chiapas a México. *Mem. Acad. mexicana hist.* (México, D. F.), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- VITO ALESSIO ROBLES. Los orígenes y las incidencias del plan de Ayutla. *Ibid.*
- OSGOOD HARDY. Ulysses S. Grant, President of the Mexican Southern Railroad. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- RICHARD A. SCHWARTZLOSE. La repoblación de la sección montañosa del noroeste de Chihuahua. *Bol. Soc. chihuahuense estud. hist.* (Chihuahua), Sept., 1955.
- MARY PATRICIA CHAPMAN. The Mission of Elisha O. Crosby to Guatemala, 1861-1864. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Aug., 1955.
- ROBERTO HERRERA SOTO. Belice. ¿Inglés, mexicano o guatemalteco? Itinerario histórico de una controversia. *Historia* (Bogotá), Jan., 1955.

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SOUTH AMERICA

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- J. A. COVA. La revolución de abril en Caracas y la de mayo en Buenos Aires. *Continente* (Buenos Aires), June, 1955. [The entire issue is devoted to articles on Venezuela—chiefly social and cultural development since colonial times.]
- PEDRO LIRA URQUIETA. La organización de la república en Venezuela y en Chile. *Bol. Acad. chilena hist.* (Santiago), XXI, no. 51, 1954.
- CARLOS SÁNCHEZ ESPEJO. El patronato en Venezuela. *Bol. Acad. cien. pol. y soc.* (Caracas), May, 1955.
- ALEJANDRO PIETRI. La constitución de 1936 y los tribunales federales. *Rev. derecho y legis.* (Caracas), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- ALFONSO RUMAZO GONZÁLEZ. Vida y obra de Vicente Lecuna. *Rev. soc. bolivariana de Venezuela* (Caracas), Feb., 1955. [The entire issue is dedicated to articles by and about Vicente Lecuna.]
- C. PARRA-PÉREZ. La monarquía en Gran Colombia. *Rev. nac. cultura* (Caracas), May-June, 1955.
- HERMANO JUSTO RAMÓN. Atisbos sobre una constitución (la de la provincia de Pamplona en 1815). *Bol. hist. y antig.* (Bogotá), Mar.-Apr., 1955.
- EMILIANO DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO Z. El departamento de Nariño y la razón de su nombre. *Rev. hist.* (Pasto), Jan.-June, 1955. [The issue is dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Nariño.]
- SANTIAGO VALLEJO. La raza negra en la campaña de la emancipación. *Panorama* (Lima), June-July, 1954.
- JOSÉ PERALTA. Memorias políticas. *Anales Univ. de Cuenca*, Apr.-June, 1955. [This issue is dedicated to the life and works of José Peralta.]
- ALBERTO WAGNER DE REYNA. La ocupación de las islas de Chincha y las relaciones chileno-peruanas. *Bol. Acad. chilena hist.* (Santiago), XXI, no. 50, 1954.
- MILTON RUBINCAM. American Families in Chile. *New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1955.
- JOSÉ MIGUEL YRARRÁZAVAL LARRAÍN. San Martín, según documentos del Public Records Office de Londres. *Bol. Acad. chilena hist.* (Santiago), XXI, no. 51, 1954.
- JUAN VILARDI. San Martín y el gral. Brayer. *Estudios* (Buenos Aires), July-Aug., 1955.
- CARLOS ALBERTO ERRO. La revolución de mayo y nosotros [a re-evaluation of the independence movement as a social revolution]. *Sagitario, Rev. trimestral de humanidades* (Buenos Aires), Jan.-Mar., 1955. [This issue also includes articles on the precursors of the university reform movement, Saul Taborda, Alejandro Korn, and José Ingenieros.]
- CARLOS MOUCHET. Primer centenario de la ley municipal de 1854 para la ciudad de Buenos

- Aires y los partidos de la campaña bonarense. *Rev. Inst. de hist. derecho* (Buenos Aires), no. 6, 1954.
- CARLOS VISCA. La estructura moral de las clases médias (1870-1914). *Rev. Fac. hum. y cien.* (Montevideo), Dec., 1954.
- INA VON BINZER. Alegrias e tristezas de uma educadora alemã no Brasil [Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1881-82] [cont.]. *Anhembi* (São Paulo), June, July, Aug., Sept., 1955.
- JEAN ROCHE. Porto Alegre, metrópole do Brasil meridional [1740-1950]. *Bol. paulista geog.* (São Paulo), Mar., 1955.
- PIERRE MONBEIG. Aspectos geográficos do crescimento de São Paulo [the influence of geography on the historical development of São Paulo]. *Bol. geog.* (Rio de Janeiro), Mar.-Apr., 1954.
- GEORGES RAEDERS. Dom Pedro II, ami et protecteur des savants et écrivains français. *Rev. Univ. católica de São Paulo*, June, 1955.
- CARLOS MEDEIROS SILVA. Evolução do regime federativo [1824-1951]. *Rev. direito admin.* (Rio de Janeiro), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- LIMA FIGUEIREDO. O cinquentenário do tratado de Petrópolis, 17 de novembro de 1903, vitória do conjugado Rio Branco-Plácido de Castro. *Bol. geog.* (Rio de Janeiro), Jan.-Feb., 1954.

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- La invasión chilena al departamento de Lambayeque. *Mercurio peruano* (Lima), May, 1955.
- RENÉ CALVO PONCE. Algunos aspectos documentales de la historia monetaria nacional. *Rev. estud. econ. y fin.* (Sucre), July-Dec., 1954.

Other Books Received¹

- Acculturation, Critical Abstracts, North America*. Ed. by BERNARD J. SIEGEL, assisted by ROSE WAX. Stanford Anthropological Series, no. 2. Committee for Anthropological Research, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Stanford University. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 231. \$4.00.
- ACKERKNECHT, ERWIN H. *A Short History of Medicine*. New York: Ronald Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 258. \$4.80.
- ALBION, ROBERT GREENHALGH. *Maritime and Naval History: An Annotated Bibliography*. Rev. ed. Mystic, Conn.: Marine Historical Association. 1955. Pp. v, 94. \$2.00.
- ALEXEEV, WASSILIJ. *The Foreign Policy of the Moscow Patriarchate, 1939-1953: Materials for the History of the Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R.* [in Russian; English summary]. II. Mimeographed Series No. 70. New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R. 1955. Pp. 238. \$2.50.
- ALLEN, FREDERICK LEWIS. *The Great Pierpont Morgan*. A Bantam Biography. New York: Bantam Books. 1956. Pp. iv, 244. 50 cents. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, LV (October, 1949), 167.
- APPLER, A. C. *The Younger Brothers, Their Life and Character*. Foreword by BURTON RASCOE. New York: Frederick Fell. 1955. Pp. 245. \$3.50.
- ARNETT, ETHEL STEPHENS. *Greensboro North Carolina: The County Seat of Guilford*. Written under the direction of WALTER CLINTON JACKSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 492. \$6.00.
- BALFOUR-MELVILLE, E. W. M., (ed.). *An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates in Scotland, 1689-1690*. Volumes I, II. Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volumes XLVI and XLVII. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable for the Society. 1954. Pp. xii, 227.
- BARKER, SIR ERNEST. *Britain and the British People*. 2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 186. \$2.00. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, XLIX (January, 1944), 343.
- BECHTEL, HEINRICH. *Der Wirtschaftstil des deutschen Unternehmers in der Vergangenheit*. Vor-

¹ Includes books, except those to be reviewed, received October 15, 1955, to January 15, 1956.

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- BELL, DANIEL (ed.). *The New American Right*. New York: Criterion Books, 1955. Pp. xiii, 239. \$4.00.
- Bellamy, Edward. *Selected Writings on Religion and Society*. Ed. and Introd. by JOSEPH SCHIFFMAN. The American Heritage Series, No. 11. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955. Pp. xlix, 139. 75 cents.
- BELLOT, H. HALE. *Woodrow Wilson*. The Creighton Lecture in History, 1954. London: Athlone Press, University of London; distrib. by John de Graff, New York, 1955. Pp. 22. 50 cents.
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The Washington Meeting, 1955

I

The American Historical Association held its seventieth annual meeting on December 28, 29, and 30, 1955, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C. Registered attendance was 1,782, about 400 more than the number registered at the 1952 meeting in Washington. Except for the tea and business session of the Conference on British Studies, which was held in the Folger Shakespeare Library, all general and joint sessions were scheduled in the Mayflower Hotel. Altogether the program offered twenty-five general sessions, fifteen joint sessions with societies and conference groups, eight luncheon conferences, and three dinners, including the annual dinner of the Association.

To Dean Elmer L. Kayser of George Washington University and his assistants, William L. Fox of Montgomery Junior College and Vance L. Shiflett of the District of Columbia Teachers College, is due unusual credit for efficient and experienced handling of local arrangements. Supporting Dean Kayser in the Committee on Local Arrangements were: Hurst R. Anderson of American University, the Very Reverend Edward B. Bunn of Georgetown University, Leonard Carmichael of the Smithsonian Institution, Wilson H. Elkins of the University of Maryland, Wayne C. Grover of the National Archives, Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard University, the Most Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart of Catholic University, Cloyd H. Marvin of George Washington University, and L. Quincy Mumford, Library of Congress.

Members of the Committee on Program were: Richard V. Burks of Wayne University, Howard Cline of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, Paul H. Clyde of Duke University, Wood Gray of George Washington University, Charles G. Sellers of Princeton University, and Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman. The committee invited over one hundred college and university departments of history to make suggestions for program topics and participants. The response to this invitation was gratifying, though many excellent suggestions, after careful consideration, had to be passed over in the interest of adequate distribution and balance in program offerings. To a substantial degree the 1955 program was based upon suggestions and proposals from the Association membership. A special effort was made to give adequate representation to the established fields of historical interest, to arrange sessions with a broad general appeal as well as sessions carrying more specialized interest, and to achieve a balance between younger scholars making their first appearance on the program and the senior members of the guild. If the program offerings appeared to reflect southern

interests and participation to a greater extent than usual this could be attributed to the influence of geography upon history.

An examination of the program will reveal that the sessions were planned and organized in three categories: first, a number of sessions of sufficiently broad interest, or contemporaneity, were designed to attract members regardless of specialization; a second category attempted to cover traditional fields of interest; a third comprised the sessions arranged and presented jointly with the societies and groups meeting concurrently with the American Historical Association.

II

Five general sessions in the first category were scheduled in the ballroom, which has a seating capacity of one thousand. The mass attendance at these sessions refutes the charge sometimes made that historians are interested only in "cubicle products."

"Toynbee's *Study of History*" was the theme of a session chaired by Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College. Crane Brinton of Harvard University spoke on the significance of Toynbee's *Study of History*; Jesse D. Clarkson of Brooklyn College evaluated Toynbee's treatment of Slavic and Russian history; and Gustave von Grunebaum of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, discussed Toynbee's treatment of Islamic history and civilization. In Brinton's opinion Toynbee's great work belongs in the category of the philosophy of history and is akin to the works of St. Augustine, Condorcet, and Spengler. As such it cannot be tested for its empirical truth although the quality of the historical evidence employed can be evaluated. "Its most striking success in the United States has been, paradoxically, to give many secularists a substitute for former belief in simple unilinear evolutionary progress. Toynbee's cycles help these believers to account for twentieth-century disasters." Professor Clarkson pointed out that Toynbee did not attempt to write Russian history but rather to extract from it illustrations bolstering his general scheme of historical interpretation. Not all his examples of "Challenge-and-Response" are well chosen and he was unduly careless in his use of sources, attempting to compensate by exercise of his own great imaginative powers. Professor von Grunebaum found less to criticize in Toynbee's use of historical evidence in interpreting Islamic civilization but took sharp exception to the unhistorical character of his construct, which lacks adequate basis in fact. He also criticized Toynbee for sacrificing understanding of Islamic history and civilization to his systematic preoccupations. Provocative and challenging questions from the floor prolonged discussion for half an hour.

An exceptionally large and interested audience attended the session on "History and Diplomacy," at which Joseph E. Johnson of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace acted as chairman and discussion leader. George Kennan of the Institute for Advanced Study, a diplomatist turned historian, and Raymond J. Sontag of the University of California, a diplomatic historian with State Depart-

ment experience, presented the diplomatist's and historian's views of this topic. Mr. Kennan said that in approaching diplomatic history the professional diplomat has always in mind the fact that "the actors in the diplomatic drama are sovereign governments" and is acutely conscious that the behavior of these governments is often a function of internal political developments within several countries. It is unfortunate that, as both diplomatic history and recent experience show, the impact of domestic political motivation of foreign policy is most pronounced in the periods between wars, which are the times when the greatest positive possibilities for statesmanship present themselves. Their observation of international relations and of the motives of political leaders causes professional diplomatists to take a sour and even cynical view of international relations, past and present. Yet most of them carry out their tasks with a "surprising measure of real idealism, and sometimes even of nobility."

Raymond J. Sontag, speaking as a diplomatic historian, dwelt upon the vast changes of the last half-century that have complicated and made infinitely more difficult the tasks of those responsible for the formulation and execution of foreign policy. He specified four principal changes: the spread of Communist rule, the revolt of subject peoples and the emergence of new states, the increased impact of public opinion on foreign policy, and the recognition that new weapons have radically changed the nature of war. The diplomatic historian, Sontag concluded, cannot be a very cheering counselor to policy-makers, but he can at least "nerve the statesman and diplomatist alike against taking refuge in the fatal hope that men will now, very suddenly, cease to act as they have acted through thousands of years."

After noting his general agreement with the approach and conclusions of the two previous speakers, Harry R. Rudin of Yale University undertook to consider why we face the supremely difficult problems of our time. He found the answer in the fact that democracy came into institutional being during the relative peace and security of the nineteenth century and now in the twentieth must adjust to an era of great insecurity. He saw the essential tragedy of our time in the fact that the real internationalism of the nineteenth century has steadily contracted since the First World War and suggested that the horrors of Nazi Germany show we are separated from primitivism not by thousands of years but only by a few years of individual conditioning. The historian must "lessen the stranglehold" of the present on "the minds and hearts of men by making them aware of what is universal and eternal." The first part of the lively discussion that followed centered on Rudin's contention that internationalism has declined since 1914, several speakers expressing dissent from this view. On the theme of history and diplomacy, comments were made from the floor by Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Sergius Yakobson, and Michael Karpovich.

Either the general subject, "The Use and Misuse of Historical Evidence," which concerns every student of history, or the two case studies, which dealt with

the beginning of two great wars, or the reputations of the speakers drew a large audience for the session presided over by W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington. Every seat in the ballroom was occupied and many were standing in the rear of the room. Richard N. Current of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, in a paper entitled "Lincoln and Fort Sumter: An Exercise in Semantics and Historiography," traced the history of the charge that Lincoln deliberately maneuvered the South into attacking Fort Sumter. He analyzed the evidence in support of this thesis, and concluded that the war would have come anyhow as by that time the South would accept nothing short of independence, and Lincoln and the North nothing but the preservation of the Union. The second paper, "War Comes at Pearl Harbor: A Study in Suspicion," presented by Herbert Feis, examined the evidence which has been offered to support the charge that another President maneuvered a hostile nation into an attack on the United States. After a careful examination of the evidence, he concluded that there was no substance at all to the charge. He conceded that a "collection of the most obvious signs" indicated an attack upon Pearl Harbor, but they were not heeded because "American military circles" took for granted that the Japanese would concentrate their efforts in South and Southeast Asia where Japan's needed raw materials were concentrated.

James Russell Wiggins, executive editor of the *Washington Post and Times Herald*, commented on the two case histories. In the main he endorsed the conclusions of the two papers and ended his discussion with a spirited plea for freer access to evidence that the United States government for alleged reasons of security withholds from historians and which, therefore, is neither "used nor misused." Discussion from the floor centered mainly upon the Pearl Harbor theme although Frank Maloy Anderson, Dartmouth College (emeritus), discussed Current's paper at some length and expressed the hope that his own research in progress might cast additional light on the problem.

The fourth of the "ballroom sessions" might be described as a grand inquest upon "American Thought in the Nineteen Twenties." Henry S. Commager of Columbia University presided and introduced the principal speaker, Henry F. May of the University of California, Berkeley, whose paper was entitled, "The Twenties: Suggestions for a Reinterpretation." Moving across debatable land he explored the changing reputation and interpretation of the disputed decade. A literary approach toward the same objective was made by Oscar Cargill of New York University, who appeared inclined to uphold the evaluations of contemporary literary interpreters—Sinclair Lewis, Dreiser, and their congeners. Frederick J. Hoffman of the University of Wisconsin and William E. Leuchtenberg, Columbia University, placed the political trends and developments in a perspective of thirty years. Notable for the variety and vigor of the views expressed, the session can perhaps be described best in the words of G. M. Trevelyan: "Around all was the lap of waves and the cry of seamen beaching their ships."

Despite the departure of many from the meeting, the Friday afternoon session on "Segregation and American Life" was heavily attended. C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University introduced the speakers. Alfred H. Kelly of Wayne University, in a paper entitled "The Fourteenth Amendment: A Reconsideration," examined the Supreme Court's reasoning in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, in 1896, that the Fourteenth Amendment did not intend to prohibit caste and segregation laws in the states and extended no further in this respect than the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Admitting that the evidence is contradictory and inconclusive, the speaker pointed out that, while some of the radical authors of the amendment clearly wanted to ban state segregation laws, they deliberately avoided specific language on the subject and resorted instead to the vague phraseology of the anti-slavery movement. He suggested that the proponents of the act feared a more precisely worded amendment would be opposed by the moderate Republicans. They therefore used language that was ideological rather than legal and looked to future constitutional development to give the meaning they favored to their vague phrases.

The race riot that occurred in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908, was presented as a significant turning point in the history of Negro rights by Ulysses G. Lee of Lincoln University (Missouri) in his paper, "Springfield and the Restoration of Conscience." Coming on the eve of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth, the riot culminated a series of blows to racial harmony and Negro rights. It led to the founding of the National Association for the Protection of Colored People and to a restoration of conscience toward racial injustice. Notable contributions were made by poets and dramatists—particularly Vachel Lindsay—to this reawakening of a dormant white conscience on the subject. Richard Bar-dolph of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, offered no criticism of the two papers but presented a summary analysis of *Who's Who in America* to show the neglect of Negro achievement. Several additional comments were made from the floor, but none challenged the theses presented in the papers.

III

While ancient and medieval history were linked with other fields in a number of meetings, three general sessions and one joint session with the History of Science Society were given over entirely to problems and topics in these areas of specialization.

T. Robert S. Broughton of Bryn Mawr College presided over a session which considered what was "Old and New in the Augustan System." Finding an apt analogy in the personality and circumstances of Henry VII of England, Chester G. Starr, Jr., of the University of Illinois, addressed himself to the question "How Did Augustus Stop the Roman Revolution?" Like Henry VII in a later age, Augustus repaired the results and combatted the causes of a long period of civil strife. Orderly government satisfied the universal longing for peace and stability,

and Augustus was able to keep his real military power in the background, to gain time to enlarge the political and military organization of Rome to imperial scale, to deal with conflicting class and factional interests, and to exorcise the spirit of unrest.

The second question, "How did Augustus Guide the Evolution?" was explained by Edward Togo Salmon of McMaster University. Concentrating on the constitutional development of the principate, he showed that the position of Augustus was based on two interdependent factors, his *auctoritas* and his *imperium*, but the particular powers and prerogatives that he assumed at each stage of development were those that appeared necessary for his immediate tasks. Yet the whole was a carefully wrought evolution and accumulation of powers that created a new and relatively stable constitutional form. William C. McDermott of the University of Pennsylvania presented prepared comment rounding out the picture of the methods and motives of Augustus.

The assigned room in the Mayflower was inadequate for all the members who desired to attend the meeting on "Medieval Britain," presided over by Barnaby C. Keeney of Brown University. "Strategic Distribution of Norman and Angevin Castles," was the subject of a paper read by John H. Beeler of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina. He challenged the view that medieval generals were less competent than ancient or modern military leaders, basing his conclusion on a comparison of the Norman with the Roman conquest of Britain. William the Conqueror quickly secured England with inferior forces and held it with a well-planned net of some nine hundred castles, situated along major lines of communication and at points of vulnerability. In the subsequent discussion it was suggested that Anglo-Saxon and continental Norman influence might have been more important than the speaker indicated, but Professor Beeler stood his ground.

In a paper entitled "English Stimulus to Scottish Nationalism in the Fourteenth Century," W. Stanford Reid of McGill University attributed the development of Scottish nationalism to Edward I's efforts to subordinate the country. Edward alienated Balliol by humiliating him, and after his deposition he offended all classes by governing directly with English officials; he estranged the churchmen by attempting to subordinate them to the archbishop of York; he drove the nobles, really an international element, into Bruce's camp by his summary executions; and finally he frightened the merchants by his economic policy. The feeble efforts of Edward II further strengthened Scottish feeling, and the attempts of Edward III to reunite the countries failed. English imperialism made Scotland a nation.

A. L. Rowse of All Souls College, Oxford University, whose topic was "Tudor Expansion: The Transition from Medieval to Modern History," deplored the overemphasis upon revolutions at the expense of slower but more solid developments. Expansion overseas marked the real transition from medieval to modern times. The west country of England changed from Land's End to the gateway to the New World. At first the redeployment of energies relieved pressure on the

Celts, but increased power of the central government resulting from the new resources of the west led ultimately to greater central control of the islands, uniformity of government and language, and the civilizing of the Celts, even the Irish, or at least a beginning. Meanwhile the queen, the courtiers, the entrepreneurs, and the intellectuals all concentrated on America, and thereby enriched both Britain and the New World.

In a session on medieval rural history chaired by Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota, papers were presented by Catherine Boyd of Carleton College and C. J. Bishko of the University of Virginia. Miss Boyd's paper, "Italian Feudalism Reconsidered," dealt with northern Italy, especially Venetia. Feudalism differed there from the classical French type and from the centralized Norman type established in England. Vassalage and the fief came with Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom and were amalgamated with pre-existing practices of commendation and the benefice, but the ingredients did not really coalesce into a jurisdictional system until the Hungarian invasion forced the church to assume leadership in organizing a strong military system. Feudalism had a solid basis in public law but did not depend upon a manorial substructure. It survived in rural northern Italy despite the growing strength of the communes. Revived in the fifteenth century as a fiscal and political system, it persisted until the eighteenth century in Lombardy and the nineteenth in Venetia.

In his paper on "The Frontier in Medieval History," C. J. Bishko opened with a plea for critical continuation of the work begun by James Westphall Thompson forty years ago. Frontier expansion and influence was a constant factor in medieval history and could be studied in three phases: (1) the ninth and tenth centuries, when Spaniards began to occupy northern Iberia, Germans pushed across the Elbe and down the Danube, and Russians penetrated the steppelands below Kiev; (2) 1050-1250, which witnessed English colonization in Wales and Ireland, the main German push eastward, Russian expansion in the Oka-Volga "rimlands," the abortive Crusades effort, and southward reconquest in the Iberian peninsula; and (3) the late medieval movement of Russians toward Siberia and the steppes, and of the Portuguese and Spaniards overseas. These enterprises expanded the limits of European civilization. They created new colonizing peoples, a rich frontier literature, and new types of men, ranging from the frontier noble and churchman to the small free farmer. The discussion was led by Katherine Fischer Drew of the Rice Institute and Edgar N. Johnson of the University of Nebraska.

A joint session with the History of Science Society, at which Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University presided, was devoted to the topic, "Science and Technology in the Middle Ages." Lynn T. White of Mills College read a paper on "The Origin and Diffusion of the Crank," showing that the mechanical crank, second in importance to the wheel, appeared first in China under the Han Dynasty but remained technologically dormant there. In western Europe the first sure evidence of the crank is on a rotary grindstone of the early ninth century. The com-

pound crank became a common device in the fifteenth century. Carl B. Boyer of Brooklyn College presented the second paper on "The Theory of the Rainbow: Medieval Triumph and Failure." His main point was that Theodoric of Freiberg, in the early fourteenth century, while disclosing for the first time the mechanism by which the bow is formed, failed to explain correctly its shape and size, which it was left to Descartes to demonstrate. George Sarton of Harvard University discussed "The Two Mysteries of Arabic Science: The Beginning and the End." The Arabs, he pointed out, were satisfied with their own literature and religion but derived their science from Greek, Persian, and Indian sources, and then proceeded to develop it further. But after Averroes this development ceased because of "Islamic totalitarianism, self-conceit and intolerance, obscurantism and fear of novelty."

IV

A variety of topics and fields in modern English and European history were explored in the nine sessions allocated to these areas of general and scholarly interest.

Co-existence as a diplomatic problem for Queen Elizabeth I and Philip II of Spain was the theme of the joint session with the Conference on British Studies. J. H. Hexter of Queen's College served as chairman in the absence of Margaret A. Judson of Rutgers University. The principal paper, by Garrett Mattingly of Columbia University, developed the thesis that the "cold war" between Spain and England resembled our later "cold war" in being the result of the clash of opposing ideologies rather than of a conflict of rational interest. During the greater part of their reigns neither Elizabeth nor Philip wanted war. For years, both of them resisted the pressures of their war-minded advisers. Spanish power in the Netherlands was not viewed as a menace by Englishmen until Philip II became fully identified with the Counter Reformation; and English intervention to help the Dutch was really motivated by a sense of religious solidarity, whatever arguments were used to justify it. In England, the anti-Spanish party was largely identical with the Puritans. In Spain also, anti-English popular feeling exerted pressure on royal policy. This was stimulated by the church, which in turn was urged on by the English Catholic refugees and their Irish and Scottish allies. Each country thus increasingly hated and feared the other for ideological reasons, and each was driven to a series of acts against the other which were of increasing gravity, so that inevitably the "cold war" became an avowed war.

E. Harris Harbison of Princeton University pointed out that the ideology of each contestant was related to its rational interest, and George Mosse of Wisconsin showed that a changing Puritan ethic was coming to embrace a Machiavellian interest of state. Among those who participated in the subsequent discussion were A. L. Rowse of Oxford, Conyers Read of the University of Pennsylvania, William Haller of the Folger Library, and the Reverend McDermott of Georgetown University.

"Politics and Finance in Eighteenth-Century England" was the subject of a session at which Charles F. Mullett of the University of Missouri presided. Dora Mae Clark of Wilson College, in her paper on "The British Treasury under Sir Robert Walpole," emphasized the degree to which Walpole, at once First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, linked his fortunes to the House of Commons and left both Treasury and Parliament stronger than he had found them. This followed from his devoted attendance at Council and Commons sessions, his readiness to compromise, and the constant aid of his brother, Horace, who not only relieved him of routine responsibilities but steered many policies to successful consummation. Through this partnership the Walpoles directed both legislation and administration and steadily increased the Treasury's administrative importance. Donald Grove Barnes of Western Reserve University spoke on "Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle," directing attention to another "brother act." He was particularly concerned to show that historians had failed to do justice to Pelham, who like Walpole held the offices of First Lord and Chancellor. Until his succession to these two posts, in 1743, Pelham, hitherto Walpole's "industrious apprentice," had been the junior partner, but when the firm became Pelham and Newcastle circumstances changed markedly. It is indeed amazing that the partnership survived since the brothers differed sharply on foreign and domestic issues and in abilities. Newcastle was totally incapable of heading a government, whereas Pelham functioned effectively, especially during the years of peace between 1748 and 1754. Carl Cone of the University of Kentucky, though differing with Miss Clark's emphases, did not challenge her major points; and Robert Rea of Alabama Polytechnic Institute confined himself mainly to reinforcing the conclusions stated by Barnes. The several comments from the floor were learned and happily relevant.

A session on early modern history, with Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University in the chair, had as its theme "The Struggle for Power in the Baltic." Three major papers focused on the Baltic from the point of view of the Empire in the south, Russia in the east, and England in the west. Religious, economic, and dynastic interests and interrelationships of the Empire with the North, in the period 1540-1570, were analyzed by Ernst Ekman of the University of California at Riverside. He stressed the inability of the Empire to establish a firm foothold on the Baltic; after the Peace of Stettin Sweden rapidly enhanced her authority in the region. In a paper that concentrated on the period 1655-1671, Heinz E. Ellersieck of the California Institute of Technology showed how Ordin-Nashchokin directed the Russian challenge with greater eagerness than wisdom, and how he failed in his time to dislodge the Swedes from their position on the Baltic littoral; the Russian giant was still too young. By the time Peter the Great was able to mobilize Russian might effectively against the brilliance of Charles XII, many other states were also ready to pounce. John J. Murray of Coe College, described the Baltic policy of George I and his government as based but slightly on trade considerations, largely on Hanoverian ambitions to expand into Swedish-controlled Bremen and Verden, and ultimately on the supposed need to counteract Swedish intrigues

with the Jacobites. An informative discussion, in an overflowing room, was initiated by Raymond E. Lindgren of Occidental College through his comments on the archival materials used and available for Baltic studies, and by Oscar J. Falnes of New York University through his emphasis on the power relationships in which the Baltic played a significant and continuing role—a role too seldom recognized.

A session on "The Era of the French Revolution: Opportunities for Research and Writing," at which John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve presided, demonstrated convincingly that the historian's work is never done. Frank E. Manuel of Brandeis University in the opening paper dealt with the pre-revolutionary period. Surveying current research and writing among French scholars, he warned against the Marxist preconceptions of some of them, suggested that American scholars might derive different conclusions from working the same materials, and stressed the need for frequent syntheses and a philosophical re-examination of the causes of the Revolution. In the second paper, Stanley J. Idzerda of Michigan State University made specific recommendations concerning the revolutionary period, emphasizing the need for microfilming contemporary pamphlet and newspaper holdings, for restudying topics and areas treated before 1900, and for studies in the fields of education, the arts, political thought, and general culture. Finally, Robert B. Holtman of Louisiana State University surveyed the gaps in the field of Napoleonic studies, directing attention specifically to the need for bringing the bibliographical tools up to date, for re-evaluating Napoleon from the viewpoint of our generation, for adequate biographies at all levels, and for basic monographs in the fields of economic, social, political, and military history. The three speakers deplored the relative neglect of social, cultural, and intellectual history, urged a broader approach to research through social science techniques, and advised the better writing of history for a wider audience.

Shelby T. McCloy of the University of Kentucky and Harold T. Parker of Duke University commented on the papers. The former endorsed the proposals made by Manuel and Idzerda and amplified their lists of topics requiring treatment; Parker concurred in the recommendations made by Idzerda and Holtman, but cautioned against indiscriminate selection of subjects for monographic treatment. In his concluding remarks, the chairman cited a communication from Beatrice Hyslop urging greater international co-operation in historical scholarship.

"Modern Spain" appeared on the program as a session topic for the first time in at least a decade. It might have been entitled "Contemporary Spain," as the three papers focused upon Spanish history in the twentieth century. "Pan-Hispanism and Hispanidad" was the title of the paper read by Mark Van Aken of Memphis State College. Spain's movement for close ties with Latin America may be divided, he pointed out, into two phases: a program called Hispanism which existed prior to the 1930's, and the idea of Hispanidad which was sponsored by Franco's regime. An examination of the two ideologies reveals that the similarities are more noteworthy than the differences. Many basic features of the older

program, such as Hispanic traditionalism, pro-Catholicism, anti-Yankeeism, and a lyrical view of the imperial past, carry over into Hispanidad and were tailor-made for the fascist regime of General Franco. Gabriel Jackson of Wellesley College analyzed the Spanish republican movement, which he maintained coincided with a period of steady economic progress and with the most fruitful period of intellectual activity that Spain had experienced since the *siglo de oro*. While the republican-socialist coalition government of 1931-1933 initiated many major reforms, the same government temporized on the vital issue of land reform and alienated public support by its exaggerated anticlericalism. The speaker concluded that after the victory of the Popular Front in February, 1936, the republicans were paralyzed by the anticipated approach of civil war and their constructive work was swept away in the holocaust. "Conservatism in the Republic" was the title of the third paper, read by Willard A. Smith of the University of Toledo. Spanish conservatism around 1930 was a combination of older features of conservatism, typical of western Europe in an earlier epoch, united with others of a particular Spanish variety and, last but not least, with the fascist ideas of the Falangist party. The church, the army, and the fascists allied themselves with the Carlist traditionalists and with the bourgeois conservatives, who in Spain were late to develop influence and numbers. Howard F. Cline, Bailey W. Diffie, and Roland D. Hussey offered significant comment on the three papers. Gerhard Masur of Sweet Briar College presided.

Walter L. Dorn of Ohio State University chaired a well-attended session on "Germany and Central Europe," in which three speakers and two commentators considered the problem of *Mittleuropa* in the periods of the Confederation, the Empire, and the Weimar Republic. Enno Kraehe of the University of Kentucky developed the thesis that the prime function of the Bund of 1815 was less to suppress liberalism or to make a gesture toward German nationalism than to provide a Central European defense community capable of preventing either a French or a Russian hegemony. It was an effective non-national defense mechanism for the multinational *Mittleuropa*, which itself was no menace to the rest of Europe. All subsequent solutions aimed at the creation of a Central European German *Machtstaat*. Fritz Epstein of the Library of Congress, discussing the period 1871-1918, defined *Mittleuropa* as the battleground between German and Slavic nationalisms which produced rival plans inspired by mutual fear and distrust and in which defensive and offensive elements mingled. The failure of German statesmen to produce a constructive policy for the problems of Central Europe after 1914 led straightway to Brest-Litovsk, which aimed at a German hegemony and the permanent weakening of Russia, while Masaryk, Beneš, and Dmowski labored successfully for the emancipation of the Slavonic democracies.

In a fresh reading of German-Russian relations between 1923 and 1929, on the basis of the unpublished Stresemann papers, Hans W. Gatzke of the Johns Hopkins University concluded that it was Stresemann's aim to find a middle ground

between the Soviet Union and the West and to pivot between the two without playing one against the other. If he rejected a military alliance with Russia, this did not mean that the Reichswehr could not profit from close co-operation with the Red Army. The widespread suspicion that there were secret military protocols to the Rapallo and Berlin agreements is not borne out by anything in the Stresemann papers. In prepared comment on the first paper, S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado agreed on the importance of the third Germany for European equilibrium but contended that Metternich's *Mittleuropa*, if the term can be used at all, was closer to the Rhine than the Vistula. He also pointed out that the *Drang nach Osten* before 1914 was largely a myth and was much over-rated at a time when the Germans were losing the demographic battle to the Slavs. Finally, Robert G. L. Waite of Williams College sketched the two sharply contrasting interpretations of Stresemann's statesmanship and, after examining both critically, took a position not far from that of Professor Gatzke.

Jerome Blum of Princeton University was the principal speaker at the meeting on Eastern Europe, which was chaired by Robert F. Byrnes of the Mid-European Studies Center. Blum's paper on "The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe" took as its point of departure the decline of serfdom in the West during both the prosperous centuries of the High Middle Ages and the "depression era" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the same period, especially during the "depression era," serfdom became more firmly established in the East. This he attributed to three developments uniquely interrelated in Eastern Europe: the increased political power of the lesser nobility, the growth of seigneurial jurisdiction, and the shift of landlords from rent-receiving to production for market, which was stimulated by increased western demand for East European grain and by the growth of the internal market in Russia.

In prepared comment, Traian Stoianovich of Rutgers University and Hans W. Rosenberg of Brooklyn College agreed with the main points in Blum's paper. The former made an interesting comparison between developments in Eastern Europe with those in the Balkans, where he found the rise of serfdom due to depopulation and underpopulation, in combination with an overabundance of the nonproducing elements of society. Rosenberg stressed the point that the decline of serfdom in the West was not a continuous process and suggested that Blum had neglected several areas in Eastern Europe in his analysis. While agreeing with most of Blum's conclusions, he also asserted that the process of enserfdom could not have run its course in Eastern Europe without the expansion of the coercive powers of seigneurial despots and without attendant drastic changes in their mentality and political behavior.

An overflow audience assembled for the session on "The U.S.S.R. since Stalin," at which Bernadotte E. Schmitt of the University of Chicago presided. The central question raised by the three papers and the comment was whether the "new look" was really new. David Granick of Fisk University examined "The Economic

Background of the Soviet 'New Course' " but could find no major new departures in internal economic policy. Possibly there was a "new course" in agriculture, for an effort was being made to increase yields from existing farm lands by improving farm management and by decentralizing planning procedures. Concurrently the acreage of farm lands was being substantially extended, but this might jeopardize the first program by absorbing investment capital and manpower. Outside of agriculture, there was no evidence of a new economic course. Bertram D. Wolfe of New York City also gave a negative answer as to the reality of the "new look" in political policies. Since its establishment in 1917, the Soviet government had made war on its own people, so that at Stalin's death it was constrained to issue a warning against "panic and confusion." Instead of finding a "new look," the observer will note that seven of the nine members of the Presidium of the Politburo are Stalin's men, and the "new measures" were worked out by them with Stalin before his death. After a brief interlude they have restored the primacy of heavy industry and rehabilitated Zhdanovism in the arts. While they have sloughed off Lysenkoism and the imputation of criminality, they have continued the war against the Russian people. At the moment, Krushchev controls the Communist party and Bulganin the army. Only some outward aspects of the Soviet system may appear new; in reality nothing has changed. Discussing developments in Soviet foreign policy, Thomas T. Hammond of the University of Virginia did not think that the "Geneva spirit" was motivated by economic weakness, for the food problem is not serious, and in spite of the high cost of atomic-age armaments, the Soviet economy is growing stronger. He too could not detect any "new course" in foreign policy, even though to avoid an atomic war the Soviet leaders talked much about disarmament and the easing of tensions. Moscow continues to manipulate Communist parties throughout the world and to engage in propaganda, sabotage, provocation, and kidnapping. Although they talk of peaceful co-existence with capitalism, the Communists still assume that conflict between the two worlds is inevitable. Comment on these papers was offered by A. Lobanov-Rostovsky of the University of Michigan, but he agreed with the other participants that there was no "new course."

An interested audience of approximately one hundred attended the session on "European Historical Scholarship: A Decade of Recovery and Development," at which four young scholars made concise reports on the progress and tendencies of historiography in postwar Europe. Charles F. Delzell of Vanderbilt University reported on Italy; Carl G. Anthon of Iowa State University on Germany; Edward R. Tannenbaum of Colorado A & M College on France; and Michael B. Petrovich of the University of Wisconsin on Yugoslavia. The paper by Carl G. Anthon, who has recently accepted an appointment at Beirut University, was read by Gordon A. Craig of Princeton. Kent Roberts Greenfield of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, presided at the session. The papers on Italy, Germany, and France reported a vigorous recovery from the grave distractions

and physical losses inflicted by the war and from the intellectual damage inflicted by the Nazi and Fascist regimes. The older historians who survived the war period have renewed their productive activity and, notably in the case of Germany, have courageously attempted to re-orient their thinking. In all three countries the younger historians, and in some cases the older, have shown a marked tendency to interest themselves in extranational history and are drawing profitably on concepts and techniques used in other fields of research. In all four countries the quantitative recovery, in the publication of books and journals, has been impressive.

Dr. Petrovich's paper had an interest all its own as a study of the effect of official Marxist ideology in a country not dominated by the U.S.S.R. All Yugoslav historians must profess Marxist conclusions about history, but, according to Petrovich, historians who are not Marxists but are tolerated, and even some who profess to be Communist by conviction, quickly reach common ground with Western historians when they apply historical methods to concrete problems, and are reaching conclusions of general interest and validity. With the Association's business meeting scheduled immediately after the conclusion of the papers there was no time for discussion, but the chairman's recommendation that the papers be published was vigorously applauded.

V

Seven general sessions and a number of joint sessions considered a wide range of topics in United States and Latin-American history. Historiography, political thought, and social policy, as well as diplomatic, regional, and ideological history each had its place and appeal.

An exchange of rooms was necessary to accommodate those who attended the session on "The Use of History by the Founding Fathers," at which Dumas Malone of Columbia University presided. In a paper entitled "The Historical Optimism of Thomas Jefferson," Trevor Colbourn of Pennsylvania State University described Jefferson as being in wholehearted agreement with the Whig interpretation of English history, which gave him a "perfect justification" of American independence. He also advocated a restoration of Saxon liberties, and his own later policies, especially his land reforms, were directly connected with his effort to bring this about. In a paper on "The Historical Pessimism of Alexander Hamilton," Douglass Adair of Claremont Graduate School described also the historical thinking of John Adams and the framers of the Constitution, emphasizing their recourse to classical history and their concern over the dangers of popular rule which, as they believed, this history had unmistakably revealed. Professor Adair described this maker of history as a most conspicuous victim of historical misinterpretation. The three commentators on the two papers all saw considerable misinterpretation of history on the part of the founding fathers. Gerald Stourzh of the University of Chicago pointed out Jefferson's inconsistency in advancing "backward-looking" arguments in the Revolution and "forward-looking" argu-

ments afterward, asserting that he lacked self-detachment and self-criticism, while expressing doubt that, even in the context of his times, he was fundamentally historical-minded. Harold C. Syrett of Columbia University was unconvinced that the fathers' views of history greatly affected their public policies and believed that neither of the two papers bore out its title. He himself saw the Hamilton-Jefferson conflict not as one between pessimism and optimism but between emphasis on government and emphasis on people, between belief in the concentration of power and advocacy of its dispersal. Frank Monaghan, historian of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, was most impressed by the misuse of history by the founding fathers and emphasized the desirability of spreading true historical knowledge. He described briefly how the commission is planning to do this.

The session on "America, 1765-1790: An Examination of Changing Views," held under the chairmanship of Bernhard Knollenberg of Chester, Connecticut, presented papers by Merrill Jensen of the University of Wisconsin and Richard B. Morris of Columbia University. Jensen's "The Interpretation of the American Revolution" reviewed the causes and objects of the struggle as presented by American historians of the early, middle, and recent periods—Gordon, Ramsay, and Mercy Warren in the early, Bancroft in the middle, and Van Tyne, Andrews, Dickerson, and others in the recent period. All those named, while recognizing other possible causes, were chiefly concerned with the political issues between Great Britain and the colonies. Beginning with Howard's *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, published in 1905, which declared "the primary cause" of the Revolution was "the old colonial system" of trade restrictions, greater emphasis has been laid on the economic aspects, with Channing and Hacker agreeing in general with Howard, and Beer and Dickerson disagreeing.

Morris' "The Interpretation of the Confederate Period," brought out that earlier American historians—Curtis, Bancroft, Fiske, McMaster, and, with reservations, McLaughlin—subscribed to the view of Washington, Madison, and Hamilton that the weakness of the Confederation was leading to internal anarchy as well as to humiliation abroad and that a strong federal government could alone remedy these evils. In 1871 this view was challenged by Henry B. Dawson in an article in the *Historical Magazine*, and his contention that the supposed "chaos" of the 1783-1787 period was largely imaginative has been developed by Bentley, Simons, Beard, and Jensen. The speaker pointed out that Jensen, as the most recent interpreter, differs from the earlier school not only as to the extent of depression or anarchy in the Confederation period but as to the basic issue over which the Revolutionary War was fought. He portrays two groups having different chief objectives; "the radicals fought for an internal revolution; the conservatives merely wanted independence from England." Morris doubted the validity of this thesis. The commentator, Robert E. Brown of Michigan State University, dealt chiefly with the conflict of views between Jensen and Morris, as outlined by Morris, and agreed with the latter's position.

In the absence of Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky, the meeting on "Calhoun Re-examined" was presided over by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., of American University. The main paper, "An Appraisal of Calhoun as a National and Sectional Leader," was delivered by Thomas P. Govan of the National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, who depicted Calhoun as an opportunist, gravitating between a national and sectional position in the hope of achieving the Presidency. As spokesman for the master class of slavery capitalists, Calhoun believed that an eventual conflict over slavery could be avoided only if the North compromised on the South's terms. In conclusion, Govan argued that Calhoun in his long career acted in the best interests of neither the United States nor the South.

In their comments upon this paper, Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina and Charles M. Wiltse of the Office of the Surgeon General, Army Medical Services, both pointed out that Govan had reinforced, more than re-evaluated, previous treatments of Calhoun. Green felt that Calhoun showed considerable intellectual honesty and courage but that he was unable to distinguish between the legal and moral issues of slavery. Wiltse stated that Calhoun was fundamentally a sectionalist who became more reactionary and unbending as he outlived his times. A brief discussion from the floor was led by Robert L. Meriwether, editor of the forthcoming collection of Calhoun papers.

Political nonconformity, social protest, and organized philanthropy were considered in a session on "Dissent in the Gilded Age," at which Edward Younger of the University of Virginia was chairman. E. McClung Fleming of the Winterthur Museum stressed the special form of political independency which constituted "Mugwumpery." It was a movement inspired not by random impulse but by a continuous and consistent fighting faith that an effective, independent vote in behalf of principle could be mobilized. Usually college graduates, the Mugwumps were also successful business or professional men. Employing the tactics of scratching, bolting, and third party movements, they controlled the balance of power in several elections between 1872 and 1896. Arthur P. Dudden of Bryn Mawr College, in "Men against Monopoly," analyzed the antimonopoly spirit and found that it took shape as a broad, popular, essentially middle-class protest against the centralizing tendencies in transportation, land tenure, business, and industry. Specifically, the growing protest was directed against oppressive business practice, undue concentration of wealth, and plutocratic policies in government. Robert H. Bremner of Ohio State, in his "Scientific Philanthropy," focused attention upon the objectives and work of organized charity societies which mushroomed in a hundred American cities between 1878 and 1893. Charity reformers tried to suppress public outdoor relief and discouraged indiscriminate almsgiving. The new societies were not relief agencies but bureaus of information, registration, and investigation. From the beginning the movement's aim was to reduce the need for charity. Its most important result was to accustom later reformers to think in terms of preventing rather than relieving distress.

Charles A. Barker of the Johns Hopkins University and Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University each gave a brief, formal discussion of the papers. Professor Barker suggested that dissent seemed a dominant current of the Gilded Age, not a recessive one, and he invited comparison of the kaleidoscopic changes then taking place with those of today. Professor Hofstadter was concerned with the lack of explanation for the failure of dissent to come to focus during the Gilded Age. From the floor Chester McA. Destler pointed out that many movements did come to focus and that tangible results were to be found mostly in the states.

A joint session with the Southern Historical Association, under the chairmanship of James W. Patton of the University of North Carolina, had as its theme "The Southerner as an American." A paper by John Hope Franklin of Howard University showed how ante-bellum southern historians, in reaction to northern criticism, set out to correct the record; and how this defensive cult became entrenched after 1865. Even the later generation of scientific historians interpreted southern history defensively. In recent years, as the South has been scrutinized from every angle, historians have brought a fresher and more objective view to the study of its past. Professor Franklin suggested that, in a section where respect for history is so great, there is a real chance that the new history may play an important part in the South's understanding of and approach to its current problems. In "The Central Theme Revisited," George B. Tindall of Louisiana State University gave a new perspective to Ulrich B. Phillips' suggestion that the central theme of southern history is found in a common resolve to maintain white supremacy. This resolve has suffered a gradual erosion from the impact of various forces—allegiance to the "American Creed," moral-religious consciousness, frontier democracy and individualism, "personalness in human relations," a community of interests between southern whites and Negroes, and a forceful Negro leadership appealing to "the better consciences of white men." Tindall suggested that the issue of race is one upon which more fundamental elements of Southernism and Americanism have interacted and that the "central theme" of southern history is to be sought in the more complex interaction of these fundamental elements rather than in the limited issue of race. James W. Silver of the University of Mississippi commented incisively and pertinently upon the two papers, and there was a lengthy discussion from the floor.

At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers University initiated a lively discussion with a major paper on "State and Regional History in the Colleges." Making the distinction between state and regional history, he described the virtues and liabilities of the former. Courses in state history, he noted, were supported by teachers' training institutions and sometimes required by state law. The state was a valid framework for historical study; an able body of scholars was at work in the field, strongly supported by an interested public. In many aspects of national history the state perspective is quite useful; in other aspects it serves as a test of national generaliza-

tions. Moreover, state history offers an excellent opportunity for the use of source materials in the training of students. The obvious danger of excessive provincialism was acknowledged by the speaker and he also warned against the "heritage" approach. Standards should be kept high and neither instructors nor students should be limited by the boundaries of a given state. He suggested an informal meeting of instructors of state history to discuss their common problems and opportunities. Allan G. Bogue of the State University of Iowa, leading the discussion, suggested that the Turner approach be dispensed with in regional and local history and that much of the subject matter of state history courses could be surrendered to agricultural and economic historians. The respectability of a course in state history, Vernon Carstensen of the University of Wisconsin thought, depended upon the instructor and the students rather than the values that may be realized in such work; Professor McCormick's paper had outlined reasonable and appropriate standards. Miss Dorothy O. Johansen of Reed College emphasized the importance of guarding against provincialism by placing state history in a national framework. She also felt that state history courses could not include an adequate picture of cultural development which is national in scope. In the discussion that followed some exception was taken to the idea of even an informal organization of instructors of state history because too many organizations already exist. John D. Barnhart of Indiana University served as chairman.

Two papers were presented in a meeting on United States relations with the Far East in the era of Wilson, Hughes, and Borah. Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University presided. Betty Miller Unterberger of Whittier College, discussing "The Russian Revolution and Wilson's Far Eastern Policy," held that, after resisting pressures for Allied intervention in Siberia for six months, Wilson finally yielded, ostensibly to keep an anti-German front alive but actually to restrain Japan's imperialism and to safeguard the open door. After the Armistice, Wilson was eager to end inter-Allied friction by pulling out, but Britain and France feared that such action would leave Japan in control. Rather than incur Franco-British antagonism and jeopardize his program at the Paris Conference, Wilson reluctantly continued to co-operate in what turned out to be an anti-Bolshevik enterprise.

Speaking on "Hughes, Borah, and the Far East: Executive versus Congressional Leadership," John C. Vinson of the University of Georgia concluded that Secretary Hughes and Senator Borah agreed on a policy of co-operation short of commitment to enforce peace in the Far East. Borah favored diplomacy directed by an aroused public opinion working through the Senate, while Hughes preferred the normal channels of executive leadership. Borah succeeded in whipping up popular support for the Washington Conference; Hughes succeeded, over the protests of a suspicious Borah, in achieving a pacific settlement at the conference without binding political entanglements. But Borah had his inning in 1924 when he and his chauvinistic colleagues slammed the immigration door in the faces of the Japanese, thereby overriding Hughes and exacerbating Japanese-American

relations. Commentators Ruhl J. Bartlett of Tufts University and Foster Rhea Dulles of Ohio State University agreed on the essential soundness of Mrs. Unterberger's paper. As for Borah, Professor Dulles noted that his policy at least had the merit of isolationist consistency, while Professor Bartlett condemned peace without commitments as "unrealistic foolishness."

Three papers were presented in the session on "Intellectual Forces in Modern Mexico," chaired by W. Rex Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania. The first paper, by Harry Bernstein of Brooklyn College, presented a lively picture of the rise and decline of the first era of Marxism, making the point that the Revolution of 1917 had no Marxist influence in its inception and managed to throw off the attempts to give it Marxist philosophy and direction. "The most social revolutionary country in Latin America preferred Indianism, nationalism, and *ejido sociolism* to Marxism." Philip Taylor of the University of Michigan narrowed his theme from the half million Spaniards who may have fled their country, to about 75,000 who eventually came to America, to 30,000 absorbed by Mexico, of whom perhaps 2,000 were professionals and academicians. The personal role of President Cardenas and the institutional one of the *Casa de España* (later *Colegio de México*) were emphasized. In spite of much indifference and occasional antagonism, their broad backgrounds and rigorous methods of thought and research enabled these Spaniards to make a valuable and vigorous contribution. The relations of church and state in Mexico were described as an "ideological deadlock" by Robert E. Quirk of Indiana University. The church was long at odds with liberalism, which would have permitted it considerable freedom once church and state were separated and civil marriage and secular education established. It was to pay for this by encountering later a much more radical opposition which restricted its sphere of action intolerably. The claims of both sides are so firm and extreme that crisis is endemic and only a *modus vivendi* can be achieved. Clement G. Motten of Temple University led the discussion.

A related theme, "Social-Political Forces in Modern Latin America," was considered in the joint session with the Conference on Latin American History. Roland D. Hussey of the University of California, Los Angeles, was in the chair. John J. Johnson of Stanford University spoke on "Urban Middle Groups in National Politics in Latin America" and Robert J. Alexander of Rutgers University evaluated "The Role of Labor in Latin-American Politics." Theodore Crevenna of the Pan American Union, announced as commentator, was ill and could not attend, but William B. Bristol of Union College and Charles Cumberland of Michigan State University served ably as pinch hitters. An overflow audience participated actively in the subsequent discussion. Both of the main speakers dealt with the period of the last half century, and chiefly with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Mexico, as the best limits for such brief treatments. They brought out clearly that the development of new occupational groups was part of a great social revolution, which was adding new ideas as well as new social and pressure groups to those of the old army, landowner, and church elements of Latin-Ameri-

can politics. Professor Cumberland noted also the appearance of a sort of "big farmer" group in irrigated northern Mexico, but it was pointed out that this element and the old middle class in Costa Rica are not "urban." It was generally agreed that the new labor groups, though somewhat leftist, are moderate enough to be a stabilizing influence.

A session on Latin-American historiography took account of developments in research and publications in the pre-colonial, colonial, and modern periods since 1930, with special reference to the work of scholars in the United States. Clifford Evans of the Smithsonian Institution summarized progress in archaeology from discovery of sites and collection of artifacts to the systematic study of cultures. This has been broadened recently to include attempts to bring related cultures into a common chronological framework and to define cultural epochs. In spite of the importance of the C-14 method of dating, chronology still depends on the use of a combination of methods. Finally, the significance for historians of ideas growing out of the Virú Valley Project in Peru was suggested. Charles Gibson of the State University of Iowa described a transition from earlier preoccupation with the era of the Spanish conquest and with areas bordering on the United States toward a more autonomous view of Latin-American colonial history. He praised the pioneer work of E. G. Bourne and Bernard Moses. Herbert E. Bolton was important both for the history of the "Spanish Borderlands" and for his views on the unity of "Greater America." The former aspect of Bolton's work was held to have had the greater influence on colonial historiography through the work of his students. After assessing publications of the twenties and thirties and noting the appearance of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1918, Gibson pointed to significant recent syntheses by Haring and Diffie and to some important monographs. While demographic studies and art history made real progress, the seventeenth century remained largely unexplored.

Benjamin Keen of West Virginia University discussed writing on modern Latin America. He found an undue emphasis on the revolutionary period and on political history. This was gradually being overcome as economic studies by Burgin, Wythe, Rippey, and others began to fill the void. Bernstein's general text was singled out for commendation. It failed, however, to give sufficient attention to cultural history and further work in this field was called for. Discussion centered on Gibson's view of Bolton and on Keen's optimism with regard to current work in economic history. Miron Burgin, Albert Thomas, Howard Cline, and R. D. Hussey participated in the discussion and Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College presided.

VI

Cultural history themes clearly predominated in the two general sessions, one joint session, and two luncheon meetings, where topics relating to Asia were considered.

Earl H. Pritchard of the University of Chicago presided at the session on the "Sino-Japanese Response to the West in the Nineteenth Century." The first of two papers, by Earl Swisher of the University of Colorado, dealt with "The Chinese Response" as exemplified by Lin Tse-hsü (1785-1850), who advocated "Know your Enemy" and pioneered in studies of the West; Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-1872), who advocated "Self-strengthening" and established arsenals, shipyards, and centers for the study and translation of Western technical subjects, and sponsored China's first educational mission to the West; and Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), who advocated "Chinese Learning for Fundamentals; Western Learning for Use," and established mints, railways, cotton and steel mills, and implored the Chinese to learn about and from the West. The response, however, was basically negative because ideologically it operated in a Confucian strait jacket. The end of the century found China weak, unindustrialized and incapable of meeting the Western impact.

In dealing with "The Japanese Response," William W. Lockwood of Princeton indicated that Japan took vigorous action to refashion her society on an industrial basis under the aegis of a modern nation-state. Physical circumstances contributing to Japan's success included her remoteness from the full force of Western imperialism and her small size and poverty, which facilitated political unity and impelled her to trade; but enterprising leadership in technological and social change and solidarity in group organization were the most important factors. These evolved from historic experience as a cultural borrower, the relatively pluralistic organization of her society in regard to initiative and responsibility, the fact that the challenge came when powerful elements of the élite were dissatisfied with the old order, and Japan's propensity to create organizations which combined solidarity with flexibility. Comments by Knight Biggerstaff of Cornell University and Roger F. Hackett of Northwestern University elaborated and emphasized the points of view expressed in the papers.

Closely related to the above subject was the address by J. K. Fairbank of Harvard University at the luncheon meeting of the Modern European History Section, presided over by Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University. Narrowing somewhat the announced title, "Asian Views of Western History," Professor Fairbank concentrated on China and Japan, which he found had been traditionally concerned with ideological orthodoxy, as seen in their use of Confucianism and of history as tools of state. Japan has differed from China, however, in its readiness to borrow from abroad, and Western history has been more studied in Japan than in China. China's view of the West has gone through stages of ignorance, search for the secrets of Western power, acceptance of social Darwinism, disillusionment, and current acceptance of Marxism-Leninism. In Japan also, the speaker found that Marxist assumptions about Western history are widely held, as evidenced in textbook treatments of the age of absolutism, the Renaissance, the rise of the bourgeoisie, European imperialism and war origins, and periodization in

general. Thus in China and to some extent in Japan, our Western historical pluralism is decried. Yet these Asian historians are obliged to deal with world history, on a genuinely broader perspective than most Western historians. The latter, formerly in the forefront of historical thinking but now unfortunately culture-bound, may perhaps catch up through comparative historical studies and, if so, put the so-called "Far Eastern expert" out of business. The paper proved of great interest to the audience because of the new perspectives that it opened up on a familiar subject.

In the meeting on "New Approaches to the History of the Modern Muslim World," at which Roderic H. Davison of George Washington University presided, Freeland K. Abbott of Tufts University spoke on the "Re-evaluation of Muslim History on the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent." The Muslim desire for an autonomous treatment of the history of their people in India is inspired by the belief that neither Western nor Hindu historians do them complete justice. Not only do such figures as Aurangzeb and Tipu Sultan require reappraisal, but the whole indigenous intellectual history must be better understood. We know too little about Muslim reaction to British rule, or about the rationalist and anti-rationalist currents that have influenced the founding and historiography of Pakistan, where the "antirationalist" two-nation theory is now prominent. Western scholars contributing to this re-evaluation need a sympathetic understanding of Islam. Sir Hamilton Gibb of Harvard University, discussing "Problems of Modern Arab History," deplored the lack of historians trained for this field, and of reliable monographs on the changing aspects of nineteenth-century Arab society; most works deal with politics and diplomacy, while élite groups, urban developments, and the impact of legal institutions on the social fabric remain unstudied. He called for reinvestigation of all nineteenth-century Arab history, for searching out the master patterns, and for collection of historical materials. Though most archives are unclassified, Sir Hamilton stressed the need to use such sources, and to preserve private documents. He asked, finally, whether universities will employ as historians those who undertake the needed training in Oriental languages.

Comment by Arthur Jeffery of Columbia University underlined the importance of language discipline and use of sources, and of understanding Muslim concepts of history. Niyazi Berkes of McGill University asked historians to rid themselves of monocentric nationalist or area bias, whether Eastern or Western. He warned against such ready explanations as "Muslim psychology" or that all change is a reaction to Western impact, and also against the supposition that there was a static eighteenth-century Ottoman society against which to measure later developments.

Asia was also the locus for the joint session arranged by the American Catholic Historical Association on "The Christian Missions: A Reappraisal," chaired by Kenneth S. Latourette of Yale University. John T. Farrell of the Catholic University of America, in his paper "Imperialism and the Christian Missions," stated

that, over four centuries and a half, empires have come and gone but missions remain. Missions and missionaries increased during the "heyday of imperialism," and they have been growing perceptibly in spite of "anti-imperialism." R. Pierce Beaver of the University of Chicago spoke on "Nationalism and the Missions in East Asia." He stated that missionaries met the challenge of nationalism by recruiting and training a native clergy, transferring authority to national churches, fostering adaptation to indigenous culture, and claiming for missions and the missionary a supranational status. Discussion leaders were Harold C. Hinton of Georgetown University and M. Searle Bates of Union Theological Seminary.

At the luncheon meeting of the Conference on Asiatic History, W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania, in an interesting paper on "The Sacred Cow," demonstrated that the doctrine is of post-Vedic origin but that once established it gained wide vogue in India. The doctrine has created a problem in the recent past, the speaker pointed out, for the Union government, which "favors the breeding, use, and disposal of cattle in accordance with their economic benefit," confronts resistance from those state governments that wish on moral grounds to preserve the absolute prohibition of cow slaughter. In the absence of Woodbridge Bingham, University of California, because of illness, John K. Fairbank of Harvard presided.

At the business session of the Conference, Hugh Borton, Columbia University, was elected chairman of the Conference on Asiatic History for 1956 and Robert I. Crane, University of Chicago, secretary-treasurer.

VII

In addition to those already mentioned, a number of societies, conference groups, and associations representing special interests and affiliations, held joint sessions with the Association, or their customary luncheon meetings and dinners.

The National Council for the Social Studies in its session on "History in Undergraduate General Education" ventilated a topic of major import and concern to the historian as teacher. William H. Cartwright of Duke University presided and presented the other participants. R. Richard Wohl, University of Chicago, and Charles C. Cole, Jr., Columbia University, treated the subject as it relates to their institutions. Frederick D. Kerschner, Jr., Ohio University, dealt with "Career Problems of Instructors in General Education," and Harold F. Peterson, State University of New York Teachers College, Buffalo, discussed the papers. Professor Cole reported the greatest concentration of history in the Columbia program in the first year of the two-year course in "Contemporary Civilization." This course and another in "Humanities" constitute the required program in general education. Professor Wohl devoted most of his time to "Social Sciences I" as given at Chicago. This course deals largely with American history since 1800 and is ordinarily prescribed in the first year. The fourth year treats Western civilization. Thus the total program in general education begins and ends with the historical view. In both institutions classes have twenty-five or fewer members;

the principal material is an anthology of sources; and the principal method is discussion. Both attempt to give a sense of the present relevance of great ideas and developments of the past.

Professor Kerschner pointed up problems facing instructors in general education. He emphasized obstacles to professional advancement and reported "a regrettable lack of enthusiasm among teachers and students in the average medium-sized university general education course." He placed blame on university administrators for not converting their faculties. Professor Peterson questioned whether a common denominator is needed in content or organization among general education courses. He felt that one is needed with regard to objectives; any blame for the unpopularity of courses in general education should attach to the faculty rather than to the administration.

Another matter of general interest to historians was presented in the joint meeting with the American Studies Association, which considered "International Exchange: A Challenge to American Scholars." Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago, who presided, introduced the principal speaker, Trusten Russell, executive associate of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. Mr. Russell opened with a sketch of the origin and development of the governmental exchange programs—Fulbright, Smith-Mundt, and Inter-University Contract program of the International Cooperation Administration. He stressed the demands which these programs are making on the academic community—particularly in the American studies field—and urged scholarly associations to make regular expressions of opinion on the value, status, and further development of exchange programs. Dexter Perkins of Cornell University explained the work of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies and stressed the value of offering European scholars high-level work in American culture at organized and carefully planned seminars. Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University, in his comments, recommended that the American Studies Association and the American Historical Association call a conference to explore and analyze the training in American studies abroad and make recommendations to the Conference Board, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and the Department of State for future planning in this area. In the lively discussion that followed, many of the hundred people present supported Professor Billington's suggestion.

The History of Education Section of the National Society of College Teachers of Education held its first joint session with the American Historical Association under the chairmanship of R. Freeman Butts of Teachers College, Columbia University. Gordon C. Lee of Pomona College presented the principal paper, entitled "The Founding Fathers and the Problem of the Relation of Government and Education." Professor Lee asked specifically: what did the founding fathers say about the role of the federal government in the *control* of education? Two sources were probed: the Constitutional Convention and its attendant debates, and certain of the more important plans for educational organization advanced

during the constitutional period. He concluded that the constitutional debates, both in the Convention and in the discussions leading to ratification, demonstrated a sizable consensus that the ultimate authority for the governance of education should rest with the states rather than with the federal government or with private or local agencies. Further, the leading proposals for educational organization which were offered in the latter years of the eighteenth century, while couched in federalistic language, tended *not* to place the power of educational control in the hands of the national government. It was suggested, therefore, that the tradition of an educational endeavor independent of federal control but dependent upon federal encouragement and assistance is part and parcel of our republican origins, and that to depart from such a pattern is to break with a vital inheritance from the founding fathers.

Comment on the paper and its conclusions was offered by Archibald W. Anderson of the University of Illinois, Michael Kraus of the City College, New York, and Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois. Professor Anderson suggested that the paper's generalizations and implications departed too much from the data. He felt that it could be argued just as well that federal control *was* implied in most of the contemporary plans for education and that "control" did not necessarily mean rigid direction from the top down. Arthur Bestor argued that the paper tended to read history backwards and to be too much concerned with present day issues (e.g., decentralization, pluralism, diversity, and control) rather than with the issues of concern to the founding fathers themselves.

Rear Admiral John D. Hayes, USN (Ret.), presided at the meeting of the American Military Institute, which had as its subject "Civil-Military Relations." Three case histories were examined, two British and one American. The Reverend Eric McDermott, S.J., of Georgetown University, spoke on "The Elder Pitt and his Admirals and Generals," showing how that able war administrator acquired an empire for his country by a policy of "conjunct," or amphibious operations. The crown opposed him but by force of character he was able to initiate the Anglo-Saxon practice of civil control over the military establishment. The issue of conscription in Britain in the period 1900-1914 was treated by Theodore Ropp of Duke University as "a failure in civil-military communications." The rise of German power indicated that a change in Great Britain's traditional strategy might be necessary but little was done to prepare the country for the continental war in which it became engaged in 1914. Louis J. Halle of the University of Virginia, in a perceptive paper on "1898: The United States in the Pacific," showed how the obvious naval decision to destroy the Spanish fleet gave us the Philippines unexpectedly and kept us over-extended in the Far East for almost fifty years. This lack of co-ordinated action in foreign and military affairs was not corrected until the National Security Council was established after World War II.

In the course of the discussion which followed, attention was called to the

survey made by Richard C. Brown of the College for Teachers, Buffalo, New York, inquiring of 815 colleges and universities whether they offered courses in military history or policy. Of these 493 responded but only thirty-nine in the affirmative. It was thought that these figures were significant in view of the impact of military matters upon modern society.

Rural electrification programs were the subject of two papers at the joint session sponsored by the Agricultural History Society. Forrest McDonald of the Wisconsin State Historical Society analyzed the problems and policies of private companies while Lemont K. Richardson of the University of Wisconsin evaluated the role of the Rural Electrification Administration. Rural electrification in Wisconsin proceeded slowly prior to 1925, but between 1925 and 1931 the policies executed by private companies brought Wisconsin to regional leadership in this field. After 1935 the industry was harassed rather than aided by REA and its co-operatives. McDonald concluded that REA activities delayed electric service extensions and that the rates of co-operative service were on the average higher than those of the private companies. On the other hand, Richardson pointed out that the REA co-operatives now serve forty per cent of rural customers in Wisconsin and that the REA program deserves credit for prodding the private companies into more vigorous action.

The experience of the Equitable Life Assurance Society with farm mortgage foreclosures in the 1930's was the subject of a third paper by F. J. Skogvold of the Equitable Society. In 1939, the company owned 6,065 farm units representing an investment of \$68 million. These farms were at all times for sale at a fair price—no consideration being given to permanent ownership and operation by the society. Until sold the company faced problems of securing an income from these properties through tenants, and of maintaining or rehabilitating soils and buildings. Most of the properties were sold in the period 1941–1944, and all by 1947. The society recovered its original mortgage investment, all management costs, all defaulted interest and secured a 1.7 per cent return on the value of the properties during the period of Equitable ownership. Clarence H. Danhof of Tulane University presided and introduced the speakers.

A luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society followed the joint session. Walter H. Ebling of the Wisconsin Federal-State Crop Reporting Service presided and Charles A. Burmeister of Washington, D. C., spoke on "Six Decades of Rugged Individualism: The American National Cattlemen's Association, 1898–1955."

Under the chairmanship of Charles W. Turner of Washington and Lee University, the Lexington Group heard three papers on the subject of "Post-war History of Southern Railroads." James F. Doster of the University of Alabama spoke on "The Vicissitudes of the South Carolina Railroad, 1865–1880," showing the difficulties under which local railroad enterprisers labored after the Civil War. Three problems were paramount: reconstruction and renovation of the line,

acquisition of capital to extend the network and improve docking facilities at Charleston, and the need for increasing traffic volume. Despite all efforts of directors and supporters the line was thrown into receivership in 1878 and the Charleston interests lost control. The attempt of the Pennsylvania Railroad to develop a southern rail empire was the subject of the second paper by John F. Stover of Purdue University. He showed how the Pennsylvania secured control of 2,100 miles of railroad line in the middle South and organized the Southern Railway Security Company in 1872 as a subsidiary concern. The panic of 1873 forced the abandonment of a considerable part of the Pennsylvania holdings; by 1877 the company controlled only two of the original lines of the system. The final paper, presented by Jean E. Keith of the Historical Division, Army Corps of Engineers, dealt with the efforts of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to stimulate the economy and develop new traffic in the areas which it served. The road first endeavored to divert German and Scandinavian immigrants to the South believing they would become thrifty independent farmers, free from the existing cotton and tobacco culture. After 1888, the railroad concentrated upon attracting recently settled immigrants from the northwestern states, basing its appeal upon the southern climate and the opportunities for growing truck crops for northern markets. By the turn of the century the coastal area of Alabama and Mississippi had become a solid belt of truck farms and an important source of wealth had been added to these southern states.

Bertram W. Korn of Philadelphia presided at the meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, which had as its subject "The Impact of American Religious and Cultural Thought on American Jewry." Joseph H. Blau of Columbia University found a number of American cultural factors that produced the "impact." Notable were, first, Protestantism, with its disregard of systematic religious consistency with respect to conclusions; second, pluralism, which was manifested in a disregard of such consistency as to initial assumptions; third, moralism, involving the replacement of theological criteria for salvation by ethical criteria; and fourth, voluntarism in religious association. The first three qualities, also observable in traditional Jewish life, were reinforced in the American experience, but the fourth, uniquely felt in the United States, has made it possible for Jewish life in America to develop a diversity and variety unknown in other climes and eras of Jewish history.

A second paper, by Arthur Mann of Smith College, entitled "Model and Emulation: Unitarianism and Reform Judaism in Boston," highlighted the direct influence of a Unitarian environment on the theological and social teachings of two eminent Temple Israel rabbis, Solomon Schindler and Charles Fleischer, both of whom however eventually proved to be too radical and un-Jewish for their congregants. Two succeeding rabbis of the congregation, Harry Levi and Joshua Liebman, remained steadfast in the liberal tradition of Reform Judaism, but moved beyond the Unitarian influence toward the expression of an indigenous

American Judaism. Edwin Wolf II of the Library Company of Philadelphia presented prepared comments on the papers, citing further details of the acculturation of Judaism under the impact of full freedom granted to Jews in America.

The American Society of Church History, in addition to its own program and sessions, held a joint meeting under the chairmanship of the president of the society, L. J. Trinterud of McCormick Theological Seminary. "The Encounter of Theology and History" was the theme of an exchange of views between H. Richard Niebuhr of Yale University and Willis B. Glover of Mercer University. The former, in "A Theologian's Approach to History: History's Role in Theology," found the study of history essential to a theologian's critical function—self-criticism and the critical thought of others. Professor Glover's paper, "An Historian's Approach to Theology," showed that as historians have given up the assumption that reality is a closed system of cause and effect contemporary theology has offered stimulating new insights.

At the general meeting of the society an announcement was made of the award of the Brewer Prize of \$1,000 to Timothy L. Smith of Eastern Nazarene College, Woolaston, Massachusetts, for a book manuscript entitled, "With Freedom's Holy Light; Revivalism, Perfectionism, and Social Hope in American Religion, 1840-1865."

The joint session of the American Society for Reformation Research commemorated the 400th anniversary of the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Harold S. Bender of Goshen Biblical Seminary presided and Lewis S. Spitz of the University of Missouri presented the principal paper, entitled "Particularism and Peace: Augsburg, 1555." The Augsburg settlement was notable in that it provided legal recognition and security for Lutheranism, but had it not been for the particularism of the princes, the evangelicals might have achieved a broader settlement. The three major questions before the Diet were the religious peace, spiritual jurisdiction and church property, and the free choice of religion by the estates. Through failure to achieve united action, the Protestant princes dissipated their initial advantage and were forced to accept a settlement which assured peace but left the other issues unresolved. Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr College commented on the main paper and led the discussion which followed.

The presidential luncheon of the American Catholic Historical Association was well attended. Professor Aaron I. Abell of the University of Notre Dame, president for 1955, read a significant paper on "Arbitration—The Synthetic Principle in the Catholic Approach to the Labor Question, 1885-1905," illustrating the application of the social doctrine of the Church, particularly of Pope Leo XIII, to the solution of labor disputes. The Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, presided and spoke in conclusion on the deep interest of the Catholic Church in the study of history, quoting from the recent address of Pope Pius XII to the International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Rome, in September, 1955. Both speakers were introduced by the

chairman, Professor O. Halecki of Fordham University. Harry A. Callahan of Boston College submitted the report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize. The award for 1955 went to Mrs. Annabelle M. Melville for her book on *John Carroll of Baltimore, Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy*.

At the luncheon conference of the Society of American Archivists, at which J. Harold Easterby, director of the South Carolina Archives Department, presided, Richard B. Morris of Columbia University delivered an address on "Archives and the Next Fifty Years." After reviewing the substantial, and in some fields the spectacular, progress in records preservation during recent years, the speaker directed attention to two foreseeable problems of the next half-century—the problem of *too much* and the problem of *not enough*. One answer to the former, he said, is a vastly accelerated disposal program, another the expansion of regional depositories now already in operation by the federal government. With respect to the latter, the speaker wondered whether it might not be too late to deal with a major, and even central, unsettled problem of our federal records, namely, the custody of presidential papers and papers of other top administrators, particularly those of cabinet rank. Asserting that the present trend toward transferring presidential papers to memorial centers is little better than earlier practices, he recommended new and comprehensive legislation defining as public records the papers of high-ranking officials and applying somewhat the same type of regulations for disposal as now exists on lower levels. He urged, as a move in this direction, that President Eisenhower and future Presidents, at the conclusion of their terms, deposit their papers either in the Library of Congress or the National Archives.

"History around Us" was the subject of an address by The Honorable W. Randolph Burgess, under-secretary of the United States Treasury, at the luncheon session of the American Association for State and Local History, presided over by Albert B. Corey, New York State Historian. Mr. Burgess stressed alertness of observation and the effective use of the tools of the historian in studying our own communities. He also urged support for the work of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, especially in its search for hitherto unknown records and papers. He also informed his hearers that the Treasury Department is sponsoring a history of the Federal Reserve System, upon which some research has already been done.

John Francis Bannon, S.J., of Saint Louis University presided at the well-attended luncheon meeting of the Conference on Latin American History. Lewis Hanke of the University of Texas, recently returned from Spain, spoke on "Recent Spanish Developments of Interest to Latin Americanists."

At the luncheon meeting of the Society of American Historians, three speakers dealt with the general theme of "Literary Values in History." The Honorable Claude G. Bowers, former ambassador to Spain and Chile, described the importance of a knowledge of history to the maintenance of a just valuation of our Anglo-American traditions of government, and in particular of our civil liberties.

He appealed particularly for a better presentation of the American story to young men and women, and to plain citizens of ordinary education. John Dos Passos, the second speaker, dwelt on human values in historical documents and the necessity of bringing imagination and a knowledge of psychology to their interpretation. Scholars can learn much from novelists about the methods of vivid portraiture; historians pay too little attention to great historic personages in their ungirt and informal moments, when they most reveal their essential natures. Nor do historians, he asserted, study literary art in characterization and narration as any successful novelist has to do. A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, followed with an analysis of the methods of the best living British historians, from George M. Trevelyan to Sir Arthur Bryant. He held that the literary tradition in English historical writing was being fairly well maintained in Britain today, and gave a lively report of some recent talks with Sir Winston Churchill in defining some of the standards of that great master of the historical craft.

Allan Nevins of Columbia University, who presided, announced that the Society of American Historians at its next annual meeting will award a prize, to be called the Francis Parkman Prize, to that work of history or biography published in 1956 which best unites with scholarly merit the qualities of high literary distinction.

In addition to the joint session, noted above in this report, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its traditional dinner, with Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky presiding. Louis B. Wright of the Folger Shakespeare Library spoke on the subject, "Literature as an Agent of Culture on the American Frontier." Professor Wright examined the books and pamphlets which were read in the colonies and traced the progress and interest in literature, both chronologically and geographically, in the growth of America. In New England the famous *Primer*, the writings of the Mathers, Fox's *Martyrs*, the Bible, and local histories constituted the basic reading resources. In time the works of the great English writers were to have a distinct bearing upon American reading and literary appreciation. Through traveling companies Shakespeare's plays found their way into nearly every backwoods community in the land. Sol Smith, the famous frontier playwright and actor, produced these plays from Pittsburgh to Mobile and the Ushers and other actors toured the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Not only did frontiersmen come to appreciate the Shakespearean plays, they likewise read both English poetry and novels. The King James version of the Bible was a powerful factor in helping to create a common literary heritage in an expanding country. Early eclectic textbooks reproduced in brief the better literature of the productive period in England. However much the McGuffey Readers strove to point a moral, possibly their greatest accomplishment was to instill an appreciation of basic English literature. Dr. Wright stressed the significance of the fact that America in its great period of expansion held to the traditions of England and the English language. The literary language was important in creating a homogeneous culture in a growing and changing country.

At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, with Austin P. Evans of Columbia University presiding, Robert S. Hoyt of the University of Minnesota read a paper, entitled "A Meer Surplusage or Battology," in which he discussed certain aspects of the problem posed by the wording of the first and fourth promises contained in the coronation oath of Edward II in 1308. His contention was that the wording of the oath leads to the conclusion that the fourth promise was by no means an unnecessary repetition of the first, but rather an all important qualification of it. In this he agreed with Prynne, but he took issue with the latter's assumption that the fourth promise was concerned primarily with parliamentary legislation and held, rather, that it had both a retrospective and a prospective bearing. He argued that this interpretation is supported by the evidence for a commitment, in earlier coronation oaths, to maintain the laws and customs of the realm and also by evidence coming from the reign of Edward I, shortly before the coronation oath of 1308. The king was expected to rule in accordance with the already established laws and customs of the realm, including those which were enacted properly and those which arose through usage; but where law was deficient the king was equally obligated to establish new law with the counsel of the magnates. This understanding of the obligations of kingship is well expressed in the first and fourth promises of the coronation oath. The speaker concluded, therefore, that the oath was neither revolutionary nor a new restriction on the authority or powers of kingship.

The members of the Conference on British Studies, with Jean S. Wilson of Smith College presiding, were entertained at tea at the Folger Shakespeare Library. The schedule of events combining pleasure with scholarship was completed by the tea and business meeting of the newly organized Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, held under the chairmanship of Michael Karpovich of Harvard University.

VIII

The annual dinner of the Association, always a highlight of the meeting, was held on Thursday evening in the Mayflower ballroom. Tables and gallery were fully occupied when Dean Elmer L. Kayser, acting as toastmaster, welcomed the members and introduced the president of the Association, Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University. Marked by wit, grace, and learning, his presidential address, "Whatever Was, *Was* Right," has been published in the January issue of the *Review*. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association, announced the winners of prizes. The Albert J. Beveridge Award went to Ian C. C. Graham for his manuscript "Scottish Emigration to North America, 1707-1783." Francis Wilson Smith won honorable mention for his manuscript "Moral Philosophers and Northern Society: Studies of Academic Men and Public Affairs, 1830-1860." Richard Pipes was awarded the George Louis Beer Prize for his book, *The Formation of the Soviet Union* (Harvard University Press); and honorable mention went to I. L. Claude, Jr., for his *National Minorities*

(Harvard University Press). The subsidy award from the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications was given to John Tate Lanning of Duke University for his manuscript "The Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala."

In closing the report of the seventieth annual meeting the program chairman wishes to make those acknowledgments, "hedges" and apologies, which though conventional are none the less necessary. To the chairmen of meetings sincere thanks are due for prompt submission of session summaries and apologies for any alterations necessitated by limitations of space. To those whose papers have been subjected to compound compression, perhaps to the point of distortion, and to those commentators whose attributed remarks show a wide gap between report and reality, sincere apologies are extended. And finally, to all who contributed to the 1955 program, the committee expresses its sincerest appreciation.

University of Virginia

ORON J. HALE

The Year's Business, 1955

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1955

By charter, constitution, and tradition our purpose is "the promotion of historical studies . . . in the interest of American history, and of history in America." Concretely this has meant and means that we exist to assist individual historians and groups of historians in research, writing, and teaching. It is our obligation, our desire, our function to make available sources of all kinds in all fields of history for research, to afford opportunities for publication of articles and books, to provide material and counsel for the teaching of history in the schools and universities. It means, in addition, that we represent the profession in its relations with the public, with government officials, and in historical and public meetings at home and abroad. In the degree that we act and act successfully and wisely, in these ways we achieve our purpose.

How have we done? How are we faring? The answer for the past seventy years is, I think, "Well indeed." Let this report indicate the projects recently completed and the directions we are going. Some things are only pencil sketches in the Secretary's and Editor's notebook. Some are in the blueprint stage. Some are ready to go, with the contract let, the trees down, and the headaches beginning. A few are recently completed and the scholars are moving into the structures.

Essential to the historian are bibliographies, guides, and indexes. These are tedious, if not dreary, to compile. They are indispensable, the *sine qua non* of thorough scholarship. Here some progress is visible. The *Index to the Writings on American History*, begun over twenty years ago, is in press. Through the Matteson Fund, the Committee on Historians and the Federal Government and

the Executive Secretary have made all the necessary arrangements to publish by photoduplication a volume of about 1,000 pages. We have been fortunate to obtain the services of Professor William C. Davis of George Washington University in the final preparation of the typescript for photography. The volume, now finally compiled, should appear in 1956. For many years we have been hoping for a revision of some standard British bibliographies and for the preparation of new ones for historical periods not yet covered. I am happy to report that, owing in no little part to the initiative of our representative, Stanley Pargellis, the Royal Historical Society, the British Academy, the Mediaeval Academy of America, and the American Historical Association are now in full agreement upon needs and next steps. Professor H. Hale Bellot and your Executive Secretary met in London in September to discuss an appeal for foundation aid. This appeal has just been sent to a foundation. It asks assistance for a new edition of Gross, for revisions of the Read and Davies volumes, for two new bibliographies to cover the years 1789 to 1900, and for the preparation of *Writings on British History* for the years 1901 to 1933.

Our own *Writings on American History* for 1950 appeared this year, the volume for 1951 is in press, and the volume for 1952 is in preparation. We owe much to the National Historical Publications Commission and to the editor of the *Writings* volumes, Mr. James Masterson. We have also been engaged in work upon a new edition of the *Guide to Historical Literature*, published twenty-four years ago under the editorship of a distinguished group, Professors Dutcher, Shipman, Fay, Shearer, and Allison. This volume, which the American Library Association has called a major bibliographical aid and which all of us have used and valued, is now out of date. The new committee, headed by Dr. George Howe, has worked out plans, has approached a foundation, and is now negotiating with a publisher. The new volume will take cognizance not only of works published since 1931 but will also give increased coverage to areas of the world, such as the Far East, which are of increasing importance. The Association has likewise stimulated a bibliographical work to cover the gap of twenty years between Evans, *American Bibliography*, and Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana*, for books published in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Our representative, Professor Fulmer Mood, reports that Professor Ralph R. Shaw of Rutgers University is compiling a new list for the years 1799-1820 and that he is progressing. We are ready to assist him in any way we can. It is my good fortune to report that the lists of diplomatic representatives to and from the United States, 1763-1815, begun twenty years ago, is completed and has been sent to the European editor of the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder* for inclusion in Volume III of that too-little-known series. Dr. Carl Lokke of the National Archives performed this valuable service for us. I can also announce the publication this month of the triennial list of doctoral dissertations, a service which, through indication of the areas in which doctoral candidates are working, prevents much wasted effort in needless duplication.

Bibliographies, of course, are guides to materials. The source materials are the real stuff of historical research, the visible evidence without which history cannot be written. For the provision of these, many agencies in which the Association has had a long-time interest, such as the National Historical Publications Commission, now exist. The Association continues its interest and its own activities. The Littleton-Griswold Committee in 1954 published Volume VII of the "American Legal Records" series, the Virginia volume edited by Dr. Susie Ames. It will soon have ready for the press a volume of Maryland legal records, which will also be of interest not only to legal but to social historians. In the newer form of microduplication Chairman Edgar Erickson of our Committee on Documentary Reproduction recounts a long list of accomplishments in reproduction of documentary materials of Italy, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and the United States. It is of interest that in our own country Dr. Clifford K. Shipton of the American Antiquarian Society is microprinting, with the co-operation of our committee, every known book, pamphlet, and broadside printed in the United States from 1639 to 1800 and listed in the Evans bibliography, as this has been corrected by Dr. Shipton (see *AHR*, April, 1955, p. 768). In another field of history, the Association has sponsored a meeting of American historians of Germany to consider access to and photoduplication of the German war documents now in the United States.

We are, then, helping to provide tools and materials for research. In addition we like to stimulate and reward it. Last year at the annual meeting it was my pleasant duty to announce that the Association was providing for the publication of four books by our Beveridge Award and Carnegie Revolving Fund Committees. Of these, one, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* by C. Conrad Wright, has been published and the other three are in press. Both these committees have had to do an extraordinary amount of reading. They have done it without any payment except that arising from justifiable pride in professional service. This year the Beveridge Committee plowed through fifteen manuscripts, the Carnegie Committee, six. Members of these committees not only read and judge the manuscripts, they provide invaluable service in editing them for the Cornell University Press, which now publishes them. At our annual Association dinner this evening the Beveridge Committee will report its decision to publish two additional volumes, and the Carnegie Committee, whose funds are nearing exhaustion, a subsidy to enable publication of another.

In the even years the Association awards several cash prizes. Last year at the annual dinner the Executive Secretary, in addition to the publication of the four volumes mentioned above, awarded prizes amounting to more than \$2,000. This year, an odd year, we will award only the Beveridge Prize of \$1,000 (plus publication) and the George Louis Beer Prize of \$200. Professor Sinclair Armstrong of the Beer Committee writes that the committee considered eleven books in European international history, a sizable number.

After they have had opportunities for research, historians want to publish their

results. They want to publish because, being teachers, they feel an obligation to share their findings with their fellow scholars and with the public. Since scholars began to write, publication has brought distinction. It still makes a mark, if it does not always have a market. Publication is, customarily, almost the sole avenue to promotions and salary increases in a poorly paid profession. Regrettably, the costs of publication have doubled and tripled during the last twenty years and the great foundations which assist in research do not wish to, or will not, subsidize publication. Our Carnegie Revolving Fund is about exhausted, and we have not been able to replenish the fund, which has had the remarkable record of publishing thirty-five books in twenty-seven years. We must, then, seek new ways and means. We should examine more closely the problems involved in winning a wider audience—more buyers of our books—and we should continue to explore how we can publish less expensively. This examination will almost certainly lead us to improve our style of writing, to write more books which will be read. It will also almost certainly lead us to publish some of our works in the various forms of photoduplication, near print, and microreproduction. Whatever is done, communication of the lonely researches of the individual scholar with his colleagues must go on, else scholarship perishes as its springs of knowledge dry.

Our Association headquarters is consulted upon many historical matters. It has become through the years a kind of "service station" for historians in America. A child writes in to ask for books and pictures on George Washington, an elderly man in Texas wants information concerning one of his ancestors, a governmental agency may wish information on some past governmental action. In order to answer questions from members or other interested people, many hours of our staff's time is spent in disjointed and sporadic research in our own records to determine what the profession did or wished done in the past on many an issue which has faced historians. When the documents fail in quests such as these last, we turn to Miss Patty Washington, our assistant treasurer, who has been with us since 1908 and possesses a tenacious memory. On most inquiries we cannot do more than direct the inquirers to a source of information. We are not ourselves a research agency. We can and do help in many other kinds of historical work.

We have this year decided to establish a Service Center for Teachers of History. A strong Committee on Teaching, headed by Professor Sidney Painter, has evolved a plan, and the Ford Foundation has given a grant of \$148,000 for a three-year experiment. When the Service Center is established in 1956, it will endeavor to help teachers of history in the schools in many ways. Among them will be publication of inexpensive pamphlets summarizing late research, of annotated bibliographies, of outlines of good courses of history now being given. Among them will be an offer of assistance by professional historians in various parts of the country. If the experiment is successful, we may make a noteworthy contribution to American education. Our Job Register is another way we endeavor to help American education, this time largely on the college level. This register has grown. In the first year and a half of its existence, over four hundred historians,

seeking positions or desiring a change of position, have enrolled, and we have been notified of over ninety openings. Our hope is to supplement the customary and well-established ways institutions seek teachers. We are moving in the direction of perfecting our techniques. This year at its annual meeting the Association is registering applicants and assisting in arranging interviews, when these are possible, with representatives of inquiring institutions.

While it performs its traditional functions the Association, it is obvious, is assuming new ones. The Job Register is one instance. We have much to do and much to be done. As we accomplish our objectives and enlarge our program we will, of course, need more willing staff members of the kind we have, more time, and more space.

Our most significant single activity is very likely the publication of the *American Historical Review*. In the *Review* this year we published twelve articles and six "Notes and Suggestions." We received 147 (144 last year) and accepted 18. We received about 1,100 volumes and we published 223 long reviews (219 last year) and 310 short (254 last year). Is this a good record? I do not know. I do know that the *Review* publishes more reviews than any other journal and that it is the most comprehensive, perhaps the most catholic, in the world. A good many suggestions come to us; in fact we solicit them. Two of these are that our reviews should be more critical and analytical in the best sense of these words, and that we might have a better coverage of books in certain fields. We are working toward these ends. Our reviewers now receive a list of suggestions from the Board of Editors which outlines "do's and don't's" in reviewing. And this editor is constantly seeking to establish channels with foreign publishers so that they will send us their books to consider for review. The *Review* will in January publish one new type of "Note." It will be a survey of the profession in 1952 by J. F. Welle-meyer, Jr., of the American Council of Learned Societies, a survey which we recommended in our report of last year. One rumor, that the *Review* has a great backlog of articles and that publication takes two or three years after acceptance, needs to be corrected. For the last three years the *Review* has never accepted more articles than it can publish in the next three or four issues. At this time we would particularly like to see more articles in certain fields such as early modern history and Hispanic American history.

I have not yet mentioned what to the Executive Secretary was possibly the most important historical event of the year, the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in September in Rome. Our senior delegate, Professor Donald McKay, performed extraordinary services to American historians as he, with the advice of the International Historical Activities Committee and Waldo Leland, carried the brunt of the American preparations. Professor McKay's account of the meeting will appear in the *Review* (January, 1956, pp. 504-11). Over one hundred Americans, your Executive Secretary among them, were in Rome. Twenty-three Americans appeared on the program, a remarkable representation, considering the distance to Rome, of American historical scholarship. It is the

considered opinion of the Executive Secretary that we should take increasing part in international conferences concerning history. We have something to learn and something to teach and in the interchange of ideas we will enrich historical thinking everywhere.

One of the duties of the Executive Secretary is to report upon the "condition of historical study in America." The work of the Association offers partial evidence for this assessment. What historians and laymen are thinking provides additional evidence. As I have traveled about a bit in Europe and a good deal in the States, down the Pacific Coast, in the Middle West, in the South, and in the East, I have listened to many historians and others talking about the conditions, prospects, and nature of our discipline. On the whole I can report that historical study continues to thrive. I have heard many different opinions, of course. I do not know that there is a consensus. Some of us may be a little on the defensive, think that the study of history does not receive as much attention (compared to other disciplines) as it deserves, that historians do not receive as much monetary assistance for research and publication as they should have, that the quality of historical work is not as high as it once was, and that students are not "taking" history as much as they once did. From people outside the profession, I sometimes hear the familiar old arguments, that historical study is not scientific, that history teaching is uninspired, that history is taught only as names and dates, and that students are uninterested. How true or false these opinions are there is no way of knowing. In some of them there could be a modicum of truth; some of them reveal weaknesses to be remedied; others reveal prejudice based on misinformation. I do know that historians are underpaid, as they long have been and as are most academic people, most humanists. On the other hand such quantitative measures as we have reveal widespread interest in history—the number of students enrolling in history courses in the schools, colleges and universities, the number of Ph.D. degrees granted in history, the many historical journals published, the growth of historical societies, the increasingly numerous organizations and meetings of historians, and the vigor and variety of their discussions. It may be noted, too, that historians reveal deep and intense interest in improving their scholarship and their methods of research, in enriching their knowledge by study of related subjects, in acquiring sources for their research, and in improving their teaching.

What has most impressed your Secretary and Editor is the belief of historians that they have a unique and vast subject of worth to men everywhere. What this, on reflection, means to me can be expressed quickly.

The study of history has its own meanings, methods, its own worth to man. It is the only discipline which studies the individual action, event, and idea as an individual happening and at the same time looks steadily at the sequence of happenings. This does not mean that in the study of history scholars cannot objectively view men, ideas, events and in this study use scientific methods to discover what happened and how it happened. It is a platitude that they should and

must. This does not mean that in the study of history scholars and students cannot find meaning and enjoyment, even values. They can and should. This does not mean that historians cannot learn from other disciplines both as to methods and content. They can, do, and will increasingly.

History is history, the study of history is unique, of value in itself. History alone seeks to recover past experience, this recovery has value for the understanding of the present. We have our own methods of finding and interpreting man's experiences and of writing our studies. These are somewhat different from those of other disciplines, provide a unique way of acquiring knowledge and insight. We have, because of the nature of our subject and our study, a peculiar obligation to help our fellows understand and see the possibilities of thought in action and action in thought as the past has revealed them. We cannot tell men how to act or think. We can inform them how other men in the past have thought and acted. Thus we can free them from some illusions and at the same time open their minds to consideration of the many possible courses for human endeavor and enjoyment.

For me, this kind of thinking leads to one further conclusion. Our special province, the past, the whole field of history is large enough for many varieties of historians with many different specialties and abilities. There is no one limited chronological period which is history. There is no one way to study and write history. There is no one key to history. We therefore need specialists and generalists, political, economic, social, and intellectual historians. There is room for those who wish to evolve world views, room for those who want to digest the record and present it *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, and room for those who simply want to dig up, order, and preserve the sources. The values and ways of history, since history is of man, are as universal as the past. History exists. It includes all that men have done. Our job is to see that our fellow men are aware of this experience. The variety of ways in which we now accomplish this constitutes history in America.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 27, 1955, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Lynn Thorndike, President; Dexter Perkins, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Carl Bridenbaugh, Walter L. Dorn, Herbert Heaton, Edward C. Kirkland, Mrs. Helen Taft Manning, Sidney Painter, Richard H. Shryock, C. Vann Woodward, Councilors; Guy Stanton Ford, Louis Gottschalk, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Samuel Eliot Morison, former Presidents.

President Thorndike called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1954 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1955, issue of the *Review* (pp. 759-64).

The Executive Secretary's report, having been sent to members of the Council,

was not read. The Executive Secretary commented upon it briefly and pointed out that the membership of the Association had increased to 6,310, a total which included about 600 student members.

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, summarized his financial report for the fiscal year 1954-55. He pointed particularly to the fact that the Association's assets had risen to about \$700,000 and that the Association had again been able to invest \$10,000 during the current fiscal year. The report of the Treasurer was approved.

Since the present term of the Executive Secretary expires in September, 1956, the Council re-elected Dr. Boyd C. Shafer for the constitutional term of three years. The Council, by motion, expressed its appreciation of the vigor and competence with which the Executive Secretary had discharged his office.

Dr. Buck moved that those expenditures for the last fiscal year which exceeded the budget allocation for 1954-55 (office expenses, social security payments, and delegates to the International Congress of Historical Sciences), and the report of the Finance Committee, be approved by the Council. The motion was carried. The Council then approved the revised budget for 1955-56 presented by the Treasurer. The budget for 1956-57 was approved in principle, subject to change. For 1955-56 and 1956-57 the approved budgets indicated increases for office and other expenses, salary adjustments for the Executive Secretary, for the assistant editor, for the clerk stenographer, and the clerical assistant, and provided for investments (subject to withdrawal at the will of the Council) in each of the two fiscal years.

The Executive Secretary reported for the Committee on Committees. The Council approved the committees for 1956 as stated below.

Committee on Committees.—Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester V. Easum, cultural attaché to Germany—term expires December, 1956; Edward C. Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont—term expires December, 1956; Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina—term expires December, 1957; and Earl S. Pomeroy,* University of Oregon—term expires December, 1958.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Sydney N. Fisher,* Ohio State University; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Ralph E. Turner, Yale University; Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Historians and the Federal Government.—Edward Younger,* University of Virginia, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey,* Stanford University; Samuel F. Bemis,* Yale University; Constance McL. Green, Washington, D. C.; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D. C.; Richard W. Leopold,* Northwestern University; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Garrett Mattingly,* Columbia University; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University; Donald C. McKay, Amherst College; Mrs.

* New member this year.

- Dorothy M. Quynn, Frederick, Md.; Caroline Robbins,* Bryn Mawr College; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Va.; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.
- Committee on Documentary Reproduction.*—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Richard W. Hale, Wellesley College; Hilmar C. Krueger, University of Cincinnati; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton. Rothwell, Stanford University; Clifford K. Shipton,* Worcester, Mass.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—Francis Bowman, University of Southern California, chairman; Henry Hill, University of Wisconsin; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University.
- Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, chairman; Stuart Hughes,* Stanford University; Joseph J. Mathews, Emory University.
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.*—Ralph W. Hidy, New York University, chairman; John Hope Franklin,* Howard University; Arthur Link, Northwestern University; Walter V. Scholes,* University of Missouri; Frederick B. Tolles,* Swarthmore College.
- Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Richard N. Current,* Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Richard P. McCormick,* Rutgers University; R. J. Rath,* University of Texas.
- Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, chairman; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University.
- Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pa., chairman; Zechariah Chafee, Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, N. J.; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Va.
- Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.*—John B. Brebner, Columbia University, chairman; George W. Brown, University of Toronto; Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College; Charles Mowat, University of Chicago.
- Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Robert I. Crane, University of Chicago; Holden Furber,* University of Pennsylvania.
- Committee on the Job Register.*—John B. Brebner,* Columbia University; Roderic

* New member this year.

H. Davison,* George Washington University; Charles G. Sellers, Jr.,* Princeton University; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

The Council approved the continuance in office, or the election of, the following delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies*: Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University—term expires December, 1956. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*: Donald C. McKay, Amherst College—term expires December, 1961; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association—term expires 1960. *National Historical Publications Commission*: Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University—term expires December, 1956; Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D. C.—term expires December, 1957. *Social Education*: Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex—term expires December, 1956; Herman Ausubel, Columbia University—term expires December, 1956. *Social Science Research Council*: C. Vann Woodward,* Johns Hopkins University—term expires December, 1958; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1956; Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago—term expires December, 1957.

Professor Sidney Painter described the activities of the Committee on Teaching and its efforts to obtain a director for the Service Center for Teachers of History. The Council authorized the Executive Committee of the Council to approve the choice of the Committee on Teaching for the directorship of the Service Center.

The Executive Secretary presented the recommendations of the Committee on International Historical Activities. The Council approved a motion that the Association pay the transportation expenses (within the budget limitations) of one delegate to the Madrid meeting of the Bureau of the International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1956. The Council re-elected Professor Donald McKay as one of its two delegates to the International Congress.

The Executive Secretary reported that the Carnegie Revolving Fund, now almost exhausted, will not afford further publication after a subsidy recommended by the committee has been given for a book to be published in 1956, and that the Carnegie Corporation had not been willing to make a further grant at this time. The Council approved, on motion, the continuation of the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund and asked it to investigate problems involved in obtaining additional funds and to consider various types of publication. It requested also that the Executive Secretary be added to and meet with this committee for the discussion of these questions.

The Council approved the recommendation of the Committee on Honorary Members that Federico Chabod, professor of modern history at the University of Rome, director of the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici at Naples, and president of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, be elected an honorary member.

* New member this year.

The work of the Harmsworth Committee was discussed. No further action was thought necessary at this time.

Mr. John Caughey read the report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association. The Council had already approved an increase in the contribution of the Association to its Pacific Coast Branch from \$200 to \$300 annually.

On motion, the Council confirmed the appointment, by the Managing Editor of the *Review*, of Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale University to the Board of Editors.

The Council nominated Stanton Griffis for re-election to the Board of Trustees.

On a written ballot C. Vann Woodward was elected the Association's delegate to the Social Science Research Council.

The Executive Secretary reported that Charles H. Taylor, present delegate of the Association to the American Council of Learned Societies, had asked to be relieved of his duties. The Council elected Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University to complete the unexpired term.

No action was taken on election of a delegate to the National Records Management Council because the delegates to this council have an unlimited term.

The Council moved that the Executive Secretary be authorized to cast one ballot to elect Herman Ausubel of Columbia one of the Association's two representatives on the board of *Social Education*. The Executive Secretary of the Association acts as the other Association representative.

The Executive Secretary reported on the arrangements for the 1956 meeting to be held at the Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis. The Council approved the appointment of Charles F. Mullett of the University of Missouri as program chairman and Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University as local arrangements chairman. It was suggested that, in accordance with tradition, the chairman of the local arrangements committee be asked to include representatives of other institutions in the vicinity of St. Louis on his committee. The Council discussed the location of meetings in the future, one suggestion being that meetings of the Association be held alternately in the East and the Middle West.

As directed by the Council in 1954, the Executive Secretary reported on groups meeting jointly with the Association, and their place on the program. The Executive Secretary presented tables and statistics which revealed considerable increases in the number of such groups and increasing pressures on the program chairman. He also pointed out that by tradition the chairman has full responsibility for the program but that the number of meeting rooms is limited, that the program must be planned for the entire Association, and that more groups than can be scheduled have been requesting sessions. The Council unanimously ruled that (1) no group not hitherto on the program shall have a joint session without the approval of the Council; (2) the President shall appoint a committee of five, which shall include the chairman of the Program Committee for the coming year and the Executive Secretary, to draw up and determine the list of associations and groups to be invited to participate in joint sessions in 1956, this committee,

with the newly selected program chairman included, to continue each year as an ad hoc committee, and (3) the chairman of the 1956 Program Committee be requested to omit the names of officers of the groups holding joint sessions but include an index of speakers.

The Treasurer and the Executive Secretary discussed the problem of space for the offices of the Association. Dr. Buck stated that the present quarters were inadequate for the present work of the headquarters and the various committees and he believed that the Association was on the verge of significant expansion. He suggested various possibilities for meeting the problem. Several members of the Council spoke of the many restrictions on the activities of the Association arising out of space limitations. The Council approved a motion for the establishment of a committee of three, with the Executive Secretary as chairman and the Treasurer and the Chairman of the Finance Committee as members, to look into and to solve these problems and indicated its desires in the matter of funds which might be expended.

After discussion about needs in the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer's work the Executive Secretary was directed to make arrangements necessary to insure that the work is expeditiously done and the Executive Committee was authorized to approve these arrangements by mail vote.

Because of the increase in value of the Association's assets, the Executive Secretary suggested that the provision in the charter which authorizes "real and personal estate . . . not exceeding \$500,000" should be amended to read "not exceeding \$2,000,000." The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to obtain legal advice and act in accordance with this advice.

The Executive Secretary outlined in some detail several issues brought to the attention of the Association concerning historical publications of the State Department. The Council affirmed that, in accordance with its traditional policies, the Association must stay clear of politics and personalities. The Executive Secretary read two previous Association resolutions, those of 1951 and 1952, concerning governmental publications in the field of history. The Council unanimously recommended that the following resolution be put before the Business Meeting:

WHEREAS, the Association has in 1951 and 1952 passed resolutions concerning the historical publications of the United States government, in particular the historical publications of the State Department, and

WHEREAS, a controversy has recently arisen concerning these publications, and

WHEREAS, the questions arising can only be approached with careful consideration, therefore be it

Resolved, that the President of the Association authorize the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, enlarged by competent students of American foreign policy, to study the problem and to report back to the Council and to the Business Meeting of the Association.

Further discussion revealed that it was the Council's view that three historians be appointed by President Thorndike.

of American diplomacy should be added to the committee and that these should

The Executive Secretary read a statement on the American Committee on War Documents, including a formal request from the committee's chairman, Dean Reginald Phelps, that it become a committee of the Association. After considerable discussion it was moved that the Council accept the Executive Committee of this group as a committee of the Association, subject to all the customary Association rules. The motion carried.

On a request that associate memberships be established for wives (or husbands) of active members no action was taken.

The Executive Secretary reported on the following topics on most of which no further action was necessary: (1) the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, for the Board of which the Association presented a panel of names; (2) the work which Professor Ralph Shaw is doing to fill the gap between the Evans-Roorbach bibliographies in American history—the Council appointed Professor Fulmer Mood of Texas to act as the Association's adviser on this project; (3) the agreement between the Royal Historical Association, the British Academy, the Mediaeval Academy of America, and the American Historical Association for revised editions and new volumes of British bibliographies; (4) the completion of a bronze plaque of J. Franklin Jameson, to be unveiled at the National Archives on December 28, for which over \$750 was raised through voluntary contributions on the part of members of the Association; (5) the new *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History*, which has been printed in an edition of 500 and will sell at \$1.50, less than the cost of production; (6) the *Index to the Writings on American History, 1901-1941*, which is in press. Five hundred copies will be printed to be sold to members of the Association at about \$4.00 and to others at a higher price; (7) the provision of Association's mailing list to the publisher of *American Men of Science*, for use in compiling Volume III, *The Social Sciences*, of this publication. Members of the Association to be included will be sent questionnaires by the publisher; (8) the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, the United States section of which has been completed by Carl Lokke of the National Archives. This list of diplomats, 1763-1815, is now in Vienna, and will be included in Volume III; (9) the recent legislation to establish presidential libraries under the National Archives. The Executive Secretary is on the Board of the Truman Library.

The Executive Secretary was authorized to raise the initial registration fee for the Job Register to \$3.00 if and when this increase is needed and with the understanding that the income from fees does not exceed expenditures for the register. The Council agreed that the proposed critical history of the Association down to 1928 or 1934 should be encouraged and that the Executive Secretary should encourage the writing of this history by the historian who has evinced interest. The Council felt that the writer should have complete freedom and that the Association should not directly subsidize the work.

The Executive Secretary brought to the Council's attention the proposal of Taraknath Das for a new historical prize in the name of Tyler Dennett. The

Council authorized the Executive Secretary to explore this project with Mr. Das with the hope that certain changes in his proposal could be effected.

A proposal to approach life members for additional funds was tabled.

Professor Perkins suggested that the American Historical Association may wish to give publicity to the George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectureship at Cambridge and the editor of the *Review* agreed to do so.

The Executive Secretary described a proposal of Ernst Posner for a "Manual for Users of Archives." The Council believed that there is need for such a manual and that it would be useful and desirable.

The Executive Secretary spoke of a talk he had had with the head of the Austrian State Archives about the restoration of the state archives of Austria and of the desire of members of the Association to help in this worthy task. A resolution by several American scholars on the subject was deemed desirable but could not be formally adopted until the Executive Secretary had further talks with the Department of State.

Resolutions from the Committee on Historians and the Federal Government concerning public access to government records and contributions of private papers to public repositories received considerable attention. Dr. Buck moved that the resolutions be referred back to the Committee on Historians and the Federal Government with the suggestion that they be given further consideration and that this action be announced at the business meeting. The motion was passed.

A Committee on Resolutions, consisting of Professors Carl Bridenbaugh, Walter L. Dorn, and Richard H. Shryock, was elected.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:45 p.m.

At a later short meeting on December 30 the Council elected Richard H. Shryock (chairman), Helen Taft Manning, Robert R. Palmer, and C. Vann Woodward to serve on its Executive Committee along with the Treasurer and Executive Secretary. Dr. Shryock, as chairman of the Executive Committee, will also serve on the Finance Committee with the Treasurer and Executive Secretary.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 29, 1955, 4:15 P.M.

President Lynn Thorndike called the meeting to order with about 150 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1955, pp. 764-66) were approved.

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, the Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, gave his annual report. The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, summarized his report which had been distributed in mimeographed form to those attending the meeting. He pointed particularly to errors appearing in the 1954 processed form of his report but which had been corrected in the printed

form published in the 1954 *Annual Report* of the Association; to the assets of the Association, which, largely as a result of increases in stock-market values, now amount to about \$700,000; and to the fact that the Association was able to invest \$10,000 during the past fiscal year. His report, which was accepted and placed on file, will be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1955.

The Council nomination of Stanton Griffis of New York for re-election to the Board of Trustees was placed before the meeting and he was unanimously re-elected.

The chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1955, W. F. Craven of Princeton University, presented the following nominations for 1956: for President, Professor Dexter Perkins of Cornell University; for Vice-President, Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University; for Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck of Washington, D. C. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees and they were declared elected. Professor Craven announced that as a result of the mail ballot Walter P. Webb and Robert R. Palmer were elected to the Council of the Association, and Ray A. Billington and Garrett Mattingly to the Nominating Committee for 1956. He stated that Professor William C. Binkley of Tulane University will serve as chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1956. His report was accepted.

In order that the members of the Association might be fully informed of the Council's decisions, the Executive Secretary reported on the following actions taken at the Council meeting on December 27 (for fuller descriptions see Council minutes above): The selection of members of the committees for 1956, recommended by the Committee on Committees and approved by the Council; the appointment of Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale as a member of the Board of Editors to replace James B. Hedges, whose term expires; the re-election of Donald C. McKay of Harvard University as one of the two Association delegates to the International Congress of Historical Sciences; the election of the following delegates of the Association—C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University to the Social Science Research Council (replacing Gordon Craig of Princeton University) as one of the three Association delegates, Herman Ausubel of Columbia to the Board of *Social Education* (replacing Fred H. Harrington of the University of Wisconsin), and Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University to the American Council of Learned Societies (replacing Charles H. Taylor of Harvard University); the election of Professor Federico Chabod of Naples, Italy, to honorary membership in the Association; the selection of the Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, and the Hotel Statler in New York City for the 1956 and 1957 meetings; the appointment as program chairman for 1956 of Professor Charles F. Mullett of Missouri and of Professor Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University as local arrangements chairman; the motions (reported above, p. 808) regarding groups and societies meeting jointly with the Association; the decision to look into the matter of space for the Association's headquarters; the authorization to the Committee on Teaching to proceed with the selection of a director for the Service

Center for Teachers; the acceptance of the Committee on War Documents as a committee of the Association subject to the customary rules governing committees; the encouragement of a "Manual for Users of Archives" proposed by Dean Ernst Posner, president of the Society of American Archivists; the authorization to look into the charter limitations on the amount of property the Association may have; the authorization to increase the Job Register fees to \$3.00 if costs necessitate; the encouragement of a "History of the Association."

For the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association, Professor John Caughey of the University of California at Los Angeles presented the report, which discussed the annual meeting of the branch and the state of the branch's finances. He indicated that the branch now has about 700 members and that its members were well pleased that the Executive Secretary had visited the coast during the spring of 1955.

The Executive Secretary reported at length upon the Council's discussions concerning the historical publications of the State Department. He then presented the Council's resolution on these publications (see p. 809 above). On motion, the Association adopted the resolution.

Professor Carl Bridenbaugh for the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following resolution:

Resolved: That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Professor Oron Hale and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the high quality and variety of the sessions they provided for this meeting; and that the thanks of the membership also be tendered to Dean Elmer Kayser and his associates on the Committee on Local Arrangements and to all others who participated in the successful planning and carrying out of this 70th annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

Following a tradition of more than thirty years, adjournment was moved by Professor Frank Maloy Anderson.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

Copies of the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* (1955) are available, at \$1.50, less than the cost of production, from the office of the American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.

The 1956 annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in St. Louis, Missouri, at the Jefferson Hotel. Charles F. Mullett of the University of Missouri is the program chairman, and Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University, St. Louis, is in charge of local arrangements.

William C. Binkley of Tulane University, New Orleans, is chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1956. He will welcome suggestions from members

of the Association for the offices of Vice-President, two Council members, and three members of the Nominating Committee.

The Service Center for Teachers of History, created by the American Historical Association through a grant of \$148,000 from the Ford Foundation, will begin operation in June, 1956. The Service Center will attempt to bridge the gap between the specialists in historical research in the universities and the teachers of history in the schools. It will publish various types of pamphlets to aid secondary teachers, such as annotated reading lists, summaries of late research, and discussions of the objectives of historical study, and it will establish a panel of recognized professional historians throughout the country who are willing to consult with school administrators and teachers.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received the papers of T. De Witt Talmage (1832-1902), nineteenth-century American preacher, as a gift of Mr. Carlton J. Corliss. The collection of some 2,500 pieces includes about 300 sermons, correspondence, scrapbooks, diaries, and notes, including accounts of his travels in the Holy Land and his visit to Alexander III of Russia in 1892. The papers also include the original manuscripts of his autobiography, published posthumously.

Dr. Lee de Forest, inventor and pioneer in the development of wireless communications, has presented a small group of his papers. The bulk of the material thus far received consists of twenty-three diaries or notebook journals spanning the years 1891-1949.

The papers of Bainbridge Colby (1869-1950), lawyer, member of the New York Assembly, and Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson, have been received from Mrs. Colby. The collection, numbering about 2,500 pieces, contains a few early family letters, but for the most part it represents Colby's career from 1912 on. While the most extensive correspondence is that with Woodrow Wilson, there are exchanges also with many other public figures, including Theodore Roosevelt, Medill McCormick, André Tardieu, David Lloyd George, Alfred E. Smith, and Cordell Hull. The papers also include copies of, and correspondence relating to, his addresses. The collection may be used by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The papers of the late Emanuel A. Goldenweiser, economist and for many years director of the Division of Research and Statistics of the Federal Reserve Board, have been presented by Mrs. Goldenweiser. The collection numbers some 1,500 pieces and covers the years 1919-1952, with the majority dated from 1930 to 1945.

A series of twenty-six diaries kept by Susan B. Anthony from 1856 to 1906, but

mainly during the 1870's and from 1890 on, have been presented by her niece, Mrs. Ann Anthony Bacon, as an addition to the Anthony papers.

Hiram Bingham, historian, who served Connecticut as governor and United States senator, has presented a small group of materials relating to civil strife in China during the 1920's, which he collected during his tour of parts of that country in 1927. The group includes approximately one hundred pieces of correspondence, as well as reports, notes, statements by various observers, and clippings from a number of Chinese and American newspapers.

The collected papers of Hiram W. Johnson, governor of California from 1910 to 1917 and United States senator from 1917 to 1945, have been acquired by the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. A gift of his son, Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., the collection contains papers relating to his activities both as governor and as progressive political leader and to his years as an isolationist senator, correspondence with leading figures of the period, and personal letters to his son during the period 1917-1943.

A new bibliography of research in progress in the field of British history has been compiled by the Conference on British Studies. Free copies may be secured by addressing the editor, Professor Madeline Robinton, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, N. Y.

The *Manchester Guardian* has been microfilmed by the Manchester Public Libraries from its beginning in 1821 through 1932. Further information and quotations of costs of the positive copy, available as a whole or in smaller blocks, may be had from the City Librarian, Central Library, Manchester 2, England.

Official publications of the European Community for Coal and Steel, formerly available only from the headquarters in Luxembourg, are now distributed in the United States through an Information Service, 220 Southern Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.

The Teaching of Military History in Colleges and Universities of the United States (61 pp.), by Richard C. Brown, has recently been published by the Research Studies Institute, USAF Historical Division, Air University, as No. 124 of its series "USAF Historical Studies."

An Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law was founded in Washington, D. C., in May, 1955. It is an autonomous corporation, privately endowed, to serve as a center for promoting and co-ordinating the scientific investigation of medieval canon law and, in particular, the preparation of critical editions of the works of medieval decretists and decretalists, together with a new

edition of the *Decretum Gratiani*. The foundation of the Institute was made possible by American benefactors. It is governed by a board of directors, consisting of the Hon. John J. Burns (New York), Rev. Professor John Tracy Ellis (Washington), Professor Stephan Kuttner (Washington), Professor Gaines Post (Madison, Wis.), Rev. Dr. J. Joseph Ryan (Brighton, Mass.), Dr. Theodore H. Thiesing (New York), and Mr. Eugene P. Willging (Washington). Dr. Kuttner, elected as president for a term of five years, is in charge of directing the policies and research of the Institute. The board has appointed Dr. Brian Tierney (Washington) as assistant secretary. The Institute has its headquarters at 620 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington 17, D. C., in offices placed at its disposal by the Catholic University of America.

Pledged to close collaboration with scholars and research centers on both sides of the Atlantic, the Institute will have the counsel of an international board of advisers and the co-operation of corresponding members and other collaborating scholars from many lands. It will thus function as the co-ordinating center of what may be termed an international co-operative (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) based on agreements with individual scholars and institutions of learning; it will work out, in consultation with its collaborators, the methods to be applied in preparing the editions of texts and will assume responsibility for the technical standards of all work released for publication. It will act as a clearinghouse and center of information for all problems connected with the study and critical evaluation of the medieval manuscripts of canon law. To this end, a comprehensive collection of microfilms, an elaborate card index, and similar research tools are being assembled at the Institute.

During the Tenth International Congress of Historians, held at Rome in September, 1955, the president of the Institute met with a representative group of collaborating scholars from nine countries. The meeting settled many methodological and organizational problems and agreed on an outline of concrete projects for the immediate future. In view of the immense wealth of unedited manuscript material of medieval canon law, a certain limitation of the Institute's general program is inevitable. The Institute does not exclude from its purview the study of canonical collections prior to Gratian but will primarily concentrate on the writings of the classical period, especially the century between Gratian and Gregory IX. In this field, the new edition of the *Decretum* and the editions of the works of the glossators (decretists and decretalists) will form two distinct projects. The Institute will also lend its support to Professor Holtzmann's project of a corpus of twelfth-century decretals, sponsored by the Academy of Göttingen, and promote the equally needed research in the decretal collections of the thirteenth century.

The major publications sponsored by the Institute will take the form of a series with the title *Monumenta iuris canonici*. The collection will be divided into three sections, *Corpus collectionum*, *Corpus glossatorum*, *Subsidia*. Individual volumes of the series, when published with the assistance of a collaborat-

ing institution, will be furnished with a double title page indicating the joint sponsorship of that particular institution and the Institute. The section *Subsidia* will also include a revised edition of S. Kuttner's *Repertorium der Kanonistik*, to be issued jointly by the Institute and the Vatican Library.

By arrangement with Fordham University Press, New York, the annual volumes of *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* will include in the future, beginning with Volume XI (1955), a new section, "Bulletin of the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law," for the regular publication of articles and information relating to the work of the Institute. Offprints of this Bulletin will be made separately available to collaborators and others interested in the activities of the Institute.

The Pan American Institute of Geography and History held its Sixth Assembly at Mexico City from July 25 to August 7, 1955. In addition to official delegates from all twenty-one American republics, a large number of observers, institutional delegates, and others attended the meeting. The part of the program relating to history, archives, and anthropology was conducted through the Institute's Commission on History, at whose sessions the United States delegates were Howard F. Cline, James B. Griffin, and Arthur P. Whitaker. Most of the time was spent in reviewing the work accomplished by the Commission and its standing committees (on archives, folklore, the independence movement, and the history of ideas) since the previous meeting, held in Santiago, Chile, in 1950, and in planning activities for the period until the next meeting. A major project, a study of the problem of writing an integrated history of the Americas, financed by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1951 and 1954, was brought close to completion by the decision to hold a terminal conference of experts on the problem in the spring of 1956. The interim Committee on Anthropology was made permanent, with James B. Griffin as chairman. Silvio Zavala was re-elected chairman of the Commission on History and Enrique Ortega Ricaurte was elected vice-chairman. The next meeting of the Commission will be held in Cuenca, Ecuador, in 1957. The Institute's new officers are Ramón Cañas Montalva (Chile), president; Arthur P. Whitaker, first vice-president; and Emilio Romero (Peru), second vice-president. The Seventh Assembly will be held in La Paz, Bolivia, in 1959.

The second conference of German and American historians concerning textbooks met on the initiative and under sponsorship of the United States Office of Cultural Affairs and the German National Schoolbooks Institute in Brunswick, Germany, August 23-31, 1955. The German League of Teachers of History also took an active part in the conference. The preliminary planning was the work of Professor Georg Eckert and Dr. Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf of the Textbooks Institute and of U. S. specialist Professor Robert LaFollette of Ball State Teachers College. This was the nineteenth textbook conference (known colloquially among

Americans in Germany as "Operation Re-write") to be held under auspices of the Internationales Schulbuch-Institut, under the leadership of Professor Eckert. The Schoolbook Institute is the permanent secretariat, and Dr. Eckert secretary of the Cultural Department of the European Council.

The German-American conference of three years ago resulted in the formulation of a body of suggestions for the teaching of German history in American schools and for the teaching of American history in German elementary and secondary schools. Similar conferences, held in the past between historians of Germany and those of other countries, have resulted in fruitful discussions, a deepening of understanding between the professional historians and teachers of history and writers of textbooks in Germany and those of Denmark, France, Italy, Great Britain, and other countries. From nine of these conferences there has come a series of recommendations, based upon agreement between the participants, for the elimination of nationalistic biases from the schoolbooks of the consulting nations and for the inclusion of materials which would contribute to the understanding of the present generation of school children.

Because the first Conference of German-American Historians made an extensive series of recommendations for the general treatment of German and American history in the textbooks, this second conference dealt with a somewhat narrower theme, and, in consequence, had a smaller number of participants. All together some forty historians and teachers of history attended the sessions of the conference. In addition, the conference was visited by the cultural attaché of the British legation in Germany (himself a historian and a participant in an earlier Anglo-German conference), by two observers from UNESCO, and by a teacher of history from Israel (visiting the Institute to familiarize himself with German textbooks and teaching methods). The American delegation consisted of Professor Chester V. Easum of the University of Wisconsin, currently cultural attaché of the United States embassy in Germany, Professor John Hope Franklin of Howard University, Professors Fred H. Harrington and William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Lawrence D. Steefel of the University of Minnesota. At the first session, Professor Hesseltine was named president of the conference.

The conference concerned itself primarily with the course of German-American relations from the settlement of the American continent to the background of the Second World War. A "work-sheet" for the conference, prepared by Professor Wilhelm Treue of Göttingen University, furnished an operating basis for discussion. The conference divided itself into two working committees, one dealing with German-American relations in the twentieth century and the other concerning itself with the impact of the peoples and policies of the two countries from the beginning of the seventeenth to the close of the nineteenth century. In the first "work committee," Professors Easum and Harrington met with perhaps twenty German historians and teachers, while the somewhat smaller number in the committee on the earlier years included Professors Franklin, Hesseltine, and Steefel as the American representatives. Informal discussions and drafting sessions at meal-

times and in the evenings enabled the members of each working group to keep themselves apprised of the progress of the other. The discussion in each group was marked by the fullest interchange of ideas. There were wide areas in which the historians of the two nations could instruct each other, and mutual understanding resulted from the discussions.

In the end, the conference agreed, without dissenting voice, on the recommendations embodied in the official and formal report. The conference recommended that writers of textbooks and teachers of history should stress the contributions which Germans have made to the social and intellectual, to the political, and to the economic life of the United States. They should, as well, point to the influence of America and American considerations in the cultural, the political, and the diplomatic affairs of Germany. They agreed on statements of German-American relations at the time of the First World War, and on the years leading up to the Second World War. The conference did not discuss aspects of German-American relations after December, 1941.

The documents drafted by the conference have been edited and mimeographed in both languages. They will be given full publicity through professional journals and teachers' associations in the United States and Germany (in the *Yearbook for History Teaching* in Germany, for example, and, in the United States, by the National Council for the Social Studies).

The forty-eighth meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, Berkeley, December 28-30, 1955. More than 263 people attended, the largest registration for any meeting in the Bay Region. Most of the seventeen sessions were devoted to the problems of discovering the frontiers of research in the various fields of history. There were panels on Latin America, Islam, Russia, and the United States. Two sessions presented the particular difficulties of interdisciplinary research: one, held with the American Studies Association, discussed research in the culture of western America; the other analyzed the problems of developing a Christian understanding of history. At the annual dinner John D. Hicks courageously answered the question posed in his presidential address, "What Is Right with the History Profession?" Three special sessions covered problems of research materials in the archives, the laboratory, and the classroom. The following awards were announced for 1955: in American history to Grace Heilman Stimson for her *Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles* (University of California Press, 1955); in Pacific history to Marius B. Jansen for his *The Japanese and Sun Yat-Sen* (Harvard University Press, 1955). The Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award was given jointly to Ernest R. May for his article, "The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Far Eastern War, 1941-1945," *Pacific Historical Review*, May, 1955, and to William Appleman Williams for his "The Frontier Thesis and American Foreign Policy," *ibid.*, November, 1955. Officers elected for 1956 are: Father Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco, president; Max Savelle, University of Washington,

vice-president; John A. Schutz, Whittier College, secretary-treasurer; and, for a three-year term, Francis Herrick, Mills College, Benjamin Sacks, University of New Mexico, and Wendell H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, councilors. The 1956 annual meeting of the Branch will be held December 27-29 at the University of Oregon. Donald E. Emerson of the University of Washington is the program chairman for 1956.

The Southern Historical Association held its annual meeting November 10-12, 1955, in Memphis, Tennessee. James W. Patton of the University of North Carolina was elected president for 1956 and Robert S. Henry, Washington, D. C., vice-president. Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, continues as secretary-treasurer. In 1956 the annual meeting will be held in Durham, North Carolina, and in 1957 in Houston, Texas.

At the meeting of the Conference on British Studies held on November 5, 1955, J. Bartlet Brebner of Columbia University read a paper entitled "Under George III." John G. Gazley of Dartmouth College and Lawrence H. Gipson of Lehigh University were commentators. At the business meeting Wallace Notestein of Yale University was elected president and E. Harris Harbison of Princeton University a member of the executive committee. It was decided that the conference would sponsor a series of bibliographical handbooks in the field of British history. Professor Judith Blow Williams of Wellesley College will be the general editor of the project.

In honor of the eightieth birthday of the well-known English historian George Macaulay Trevelyan, his friends and readers on both sides of the Atlantic have proposed the establishment of a fund to support an annual series of historical lectures at Cambridge University. The lectures will bear his name and will be delivered by a distinguished scholar chosen each year from Britain or from overseas. United States contributions should be addressed to Barclay's Bank, D.C.O., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y., for the account of the Trevelyan Fund. Chairman of the committee in charge of the appeal is M. D. Knowles, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.

The National Science Foundation has initiated a limited program of support of basic research in the history, philosophy, and sociology of science. Of the four grants recently made as part of the program, two are in the history of science: Marshall Clagett, University of Wisconsin, "Medieval Antecedents to Early Modern Mathematics and Physics," and C. S. Smith, University of Chicago, "A Study of the History of Metallurgy." Research proposals will be received by the Foundation at any time. Further information may be obtained from the National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

The Civil Service Commission is announcing an examination for historical positions in the Washington, D. C., area, Grades GS-9 through GS-15, for general

historical service and for specialized service in the fields of agricultural, diplomatic, national defense, national park, and museum history. Junior historical positions in Grades GS-5 and GS-7 will hereafter be filled by the Federal Service Entrance Examination. The basic salary for the GS-9 grade is now \$5,440, and to qualify for this grade a candidate must have a Ph.D. degree or the equivalent in training and experience. This will be an open examination of the unassembled type. It will result in a new register of historians from which Civil Service positions in the Washington area will hereafter be filled. Anyone interested in this examination should consult the detailed announcement of the Commission, obtainable from post offices, Civil Service regional offices, or by addressing the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Amherst College: Henry Steele Commager, Columbia University, appointed professor of history and American studies, effective July 1, 1956. Professor Commager will retain a post at Columbia as adjunct professor. He will reside in Amherst. Donald C. McKay of Harvard University, who has been visiting professor at Amherst this year, appointed Anson D. Morse professor of history, effective July 1. *Appalachian State Teachers College* (Boone, N. C.): William S. Hoffmann appointed associate professor. *Buena Vista College* (Storm Lake, Iowa): Kempes Y. Schnell appointed assistant professor. *University of Buffalo*: Charles O. Houston, Jr., director of graduate studies and dean, School of Foreign Service, University of Manila, visiting professor, second semester; Bradley Chapin, Park School, visiting professor, 1955-56; Wendell N. Calkins, assistant professor, on leave as intern professor in general education, University of Chicago. *University of Cambridge*: T. C. Easterbrook, University of Toronto, succeeds J. Bartlet Brebner, Columbia, as Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions, 1955-56. *Coe College*: Paul Glad, Hastings College, appointed assistant professor. *Cornell University*: James O. Morris appointed assistant professor. *Delhi University*: Manakkal S. Venkataramani appointed lecturer in American history and institutions, Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi. Dr. Venkataramani received his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Oregon in 1955. *University of Georgia*: Kenneth Coleman, Georgia State College of Business Administration, appointed assistant professor. *Grinnell College*: Alan Jones appointed instructor. *University of Illinois*: Robert Lawrence Nicholson promoted to associate professor, Chicago Undergraduate Division. *Indiana University*: John C. Andressohn retired, June, 1955; R. Carlyle Buley on sabbatical leave, 1955-56,

¹ In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements. The change in the form of printing notes, beginning with this issue, is also in the interests of saving space. Appointments refer to departments of history unless otherwise specified.

to complete his history of the Equitable Life Assurance Society; Lynn W. Turner on sabbatical leave, second semester, for work on the history of Jamaica during the Revolution; S. Y. Teng, Fulbright award for research at Kyoto University, Japan, February, 1956-January, 1957; Robert H. Ferrell, leave of absence, 1955-56, as Carnegie visiting assistant professor at Yale; Robert E. Quirk promoted to assistant professor. Appointments: Leo F. Solt, University of Massachusetts, assistant professor; Kenneth K. Bailey, New Mexico Military Institute, instructor; Robert D. Ronsheim, lecturer.

Louisiana State University: Walter C. Richardson, Boyd professor, on leave second semester for research in England on the Tudor Court of Augmentations; John Duffy, assistant professor, on leave, 1955-56, for research on medical history of Louisiana; John L. Loos, Washington University, appointed instructor. *Michigan State University*: Robert E. Brown granted leave, 1956-57, to continue research on colonial and revolutionary Virginia; Roger L. Williams appointed assistant professor. *Mississippi State Department of Archives and History*: William D. McCain resigned as director, August, 1955, to accept presidency of Mississippi Southern College, Hattiesburg; Charlotte Capers, research and editorial assistant, elected director. *University of Nebraska*: Samuel K. Eddy appointed instructor. *New Hampshire Historical Society*: Philip N. Guyol named director, succeeding Elmer M. Hunt. *New York State College for Teachers* (Albany): Donald Leidel appointed instructor. *Ohio State University*: William T. Bulger appointed instructor. *University of Pittsburgh*: Harold J. Gordon, Jr., appointed instructor. *Ripon College*: George H. Miller promoted to assistant professor. *San Jose State College* (California): Irma E. Eichhorn appointed instructor. *University of Virginia*: Oron J. Hale named chairman of department; Thomas P. Abernethy resigned as chairman to devote full time to teaching and research; Charles Julian Bishko promoted to professor. *University of Washington*: Grant K. Goodman appointed instructor. *West Virginia University*: Lewis M. Purifoy appointed instructor. *Western Carolina College* (Cullowhee, N. C.): Susie S. Taylor appointed instructor. *University of Wisconsin*: A. R. M. Lower, Douglas professor of Canadian history, Queen's University, Kingston, visiting professor of British Commonwealth history, 1955-56. Professor Lower is the first to hold this professorship, established in honor of Professor Paul Knaplund, who retired last July. Howard K. Beale is on leave, January-August, 1956, as Fulbright professor, University of Munich. *American Historical Association*: George B. Carson, assistant professor of history at the University of Chicago and editor of the *Journal of Modern History*, appointed director of the Association's Service Center for Teachers of History, which will begin operation in June, 1956 (see p. 814 above).

RECENT DEATHS

Vicente Lecuna, distinguished Venezuelan historian and honorary member of the American Historical Association, died in Caracas February 20, 1954, at the age of eighty-four. Long prominent in banking circles and for many years head of

the Banco de Venezuela, after 1920 he devoted himself increasingly to historical studies. These related almost entirely to the life and times of the great South American liberator Simón Bolívar, a native of Caracas. Long before his death, Lecuna was universally recognized as an outstanding authority on this subject, which has long been a favorite theme among South American historians. His chief monument is the now-standard edition of Bolívar's letters (*Cartas del Libertador*, 11 volumes, Caracas, 1929-48). His other works include *Documentos referentes a la creación de Bolivia* (2 volumes, Caracas, 1924) and *Crónica razonada de las guerras de Bolívar* (3 volumes, New York, 1950). He also published a number of monographs on historical problems of his chosen period, such as the controversy over the interview at Guayaquil in 1822 between Bolívar and the Argentine liberator José de San Martín.

George A. Ball, industrialist of Muncie, Indiana, died on October 22, 1955, at ninety-two. He was a contributor to the endowment fund of the American Historical Association and had been a member of the Association since 1929.

George V. Lantzeff, professor of history in the University of California, Berkeley, died on October 23, 1955, at the age of sixty-three. He was born in Lublin, at that time in Russian Poland. Recognized as an outstanding authority on the history of Siberia, at the time of his death he was on the point of completing a second volume on the subject, entitled, *History of the Russian Open Frontier*, which it is hoped may be released posthumously. It was to follow his *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century: A Study of Colonial Administration* (1943), which was well received both here and abroad. A graduate of the University of St. Petersburg, he obtained a master's degree at Stanford and his doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. His years of unusually successful teaching in secondary schools (1924-1933), in Wellesley College (1943-1946), and at the University of California since 1946, were accompanied by careful, intensive, scholarly work. He contributed important articles and reviews to numerous scholarly journals and collaborated in the Harvard University *Handbook of Slavic Studies* with a chapter on Muscovite Russia. A heretofore neglected field in Russian history has lost a pioneer scholar of great merit.

George Fort Milton, former editor of the old Chattanooga *News*, died November 12, 1955, at the age of sixty. Although he was a journalist by profession, Mr. Milton's interests were primarily politics and history, the latter evidenced by a series of publications including *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (1930), *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (1934), *Conflict: The American Civil War* (1941), *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (1942), and *The Use of Presidential Power: 1789* (1943). A member of the American Historical Association from 1929 to 1941, Mr. Milton was also an occasional contributor of book reviews to this journal.

Bernard De Voto, who died suddenly on November 13, 1955, at the age of fifty-eight, had been a member of the American Historical Association for the past ten years. Among his many historical writings, *Across the Wide Missouri* was probably the most widely known, having won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1947.

Marquis James, author of a number of well-known historical biographies, died November 19, 1955, at the age of sixty-four. He won the Pulitzer Prize for biography twice, first in 1930 for *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston* and again in 1938 for his two-volume biography of Andrew Jackson.

H. Fred Swansen, head of the department of history at Dana College, Blair, Nebraska, for twenty-three years, died December 3, 1955, at the age of sixty-six. Dr. Swansen received his Ph.D. degree from the State University of Iowa and was a long-time member of the American Historical Association, the Norwegian-American Historical Association, and the American-Scandinavian Foundation. His biography of Claus Lauritz Clausen, Danish-American pioneer leader in the central Midwest, appeared in 1949.

Charles W. Colby, a life member of the American Historical Association, died on December 12, 1955, in his eighty-ninth year. His long life was distinguished by success in two different careers, one in scholarship and teaching and the other in business and finance. Following his undergraduate training at McGill University, Dr. Colby earned the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, by the time he was twenty-six, at Harvard University. The first part of his professional life was spent as a teacher of history at McGill, where he was appointed Kingsford professor of history in 1895 and served as chairman of the department until he retired to give full time to the large business interests created by his father. One of his students expressed the effect Dr. Colby had upon his classes when he wrote that all who listened to his lectures "are charmed into wonder and pleasure at his profound learning and, what is really the point, the delicacy with which he emits it without making it appear learning. . . . It is not till after you have left Dr. Colby's presence that you begin to feel ignorant." Among Dr. Colby's publications are: *Selections from the Sources of English History* (1899), *Canadian Types of the Old Regime* (1908), and *The Founder of New France: A Chronicle of Champlain* (1915).

Editor's Note

The *Review* continues to welcome articles in all fields of history. It would be happy to see and consider more articles than it presently receives in several fields, such as early modern history and Hispanic American history. It continues to hope also that articles submitted in any field will have wide and general interest.

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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 6000.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Ralph W. Hidy, 55 Summer St., Forest Hills, N. Y.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (next award: December, 1956).

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The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$140, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$200, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$7.50, students \$4.00. Life membership is \$150. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

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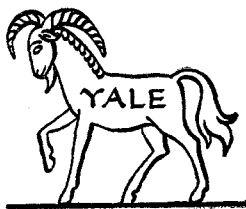
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